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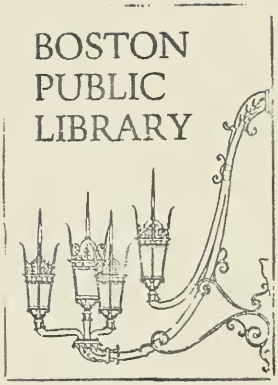
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MEASURING NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE

Prof. Robert M. Hollister

with Deborah Auger,
Adrian Ruth Walter
and Timothy Pattison

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This report was completed under contract to the City of Boston as part of the Neighborhood Confidence Project of the Office of Program Development, funded by the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Grant No. B-76-51-25-002.

John Weis, Project Director

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September 1978

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John Weis, Project Director

PREFACE

While the authors listed on the previous page are primarily responsible for writing this report, it results from the work of a larger group. The following persons helped to design and administer the first phase of the survey (telephone interviews): Timothy Pattison (Coordinator), Miriam Garmaise, Ruth Kolodney, Brian Lancaster, Ronald Lester, Elizabeth Phillips, Michael Stone, Gregory Tong and Adrian Ruth Walter. Handling the second phase of the survey (in-depth personal interviews) were: Deborah Auger (Coordinator), Karen Fulbright and Virginia O'Neill Canning. Persons contributing to the analysis of survey results included: Deborah Auger, Virginia O'Neill Canning, Peter Clay, Ruth Kolodney, Brian Lancaster, Wendy Landman, Gregory Tong, and Adrian Ruth Walter. Marilyn Brockman prepared the maps and graphs.

We appreciate the critical comments and suggestions of people who reviewed a draft of this final report: Rolf Goetze, Robert Rugo, and John Weis.

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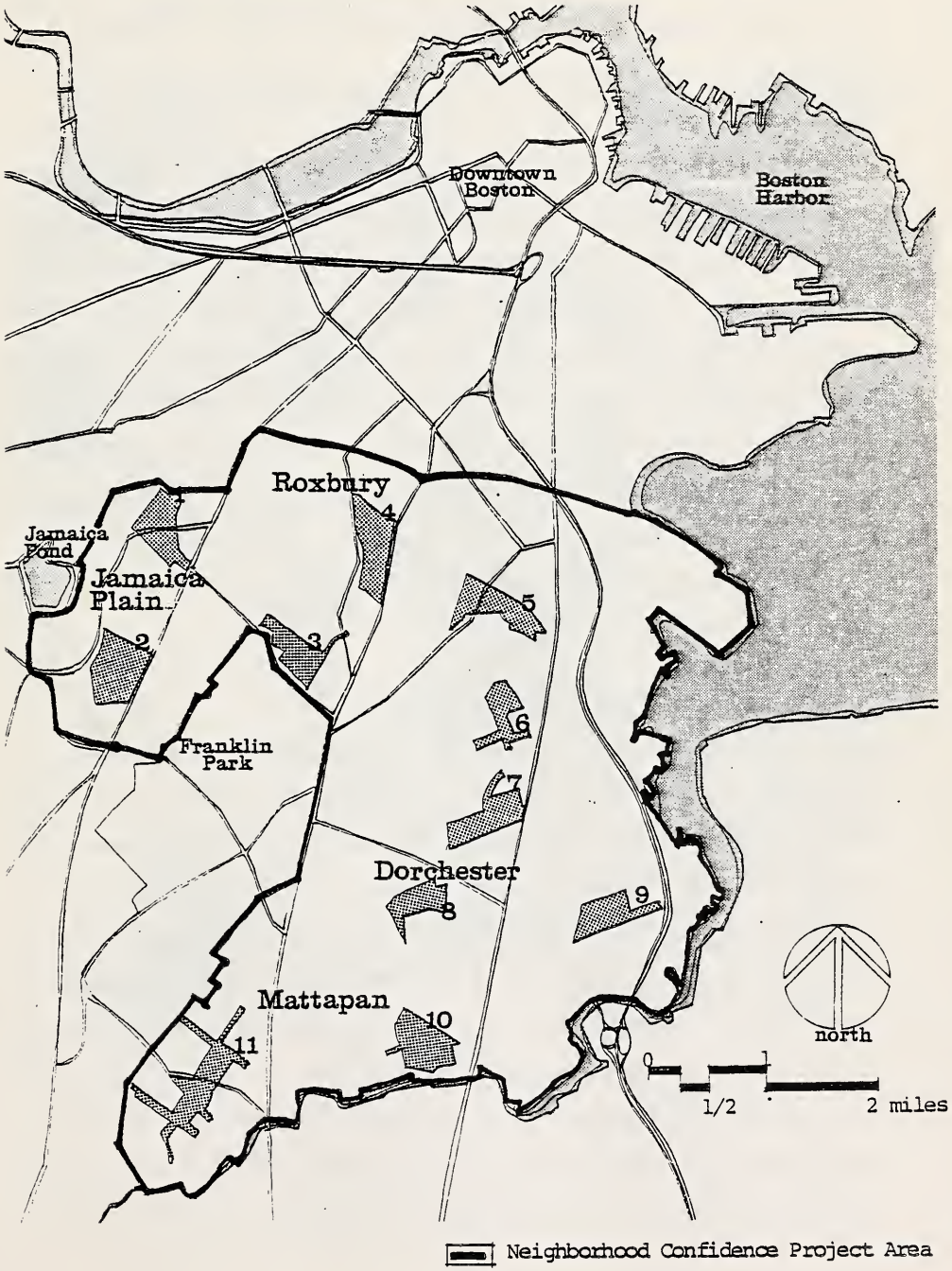
I. SUMMARY

The survey reported in this volume served research and evaluation purposes of the City of Boston's Neighborhood Confidence Project. The project aimed to stimulate positive self-fulfilling prophecies in three major residential sections of Boston -- Dorchester, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain. The Neighborhood Confidence Project developed in reaction to the predominate problem-orientation of current urban planning. The "confidence building" approach was initiated by a group of planners and neighborhood association activists who found prevailing theories of neighborhood change to be inaccurate and less than useful when applied to the areas in which they were working.

The Boston planners sought to identify strengths of local neighborhoods and to communicate them to present and prospective residents. Although fully aware of the problems existing in many of these areas, they deliberately rejected the crisis mentality of government programs designed to help central city neighborhoods. They turned away from the standard practice of documenting what is wrong with neighborhoods and set out to build upon positive characteristics of local communities.

Their specific goals were to: (1) encourage owner-occupants to stay in their present neighborhoods; (2) encourage tenants already living in city neighborhoods and people from outside Boston to buy homes in Dorchester, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain; and (3) change the attitudes and actions of "key actors" -- real estate brokers, bankers, municipal offi-

MAP 1.1: LOCATION OF BOSTON NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE PROJECT STUDY AREAS



cials and media personnel whose work influences the decisions of present owners to remain in the city and of others to move in.

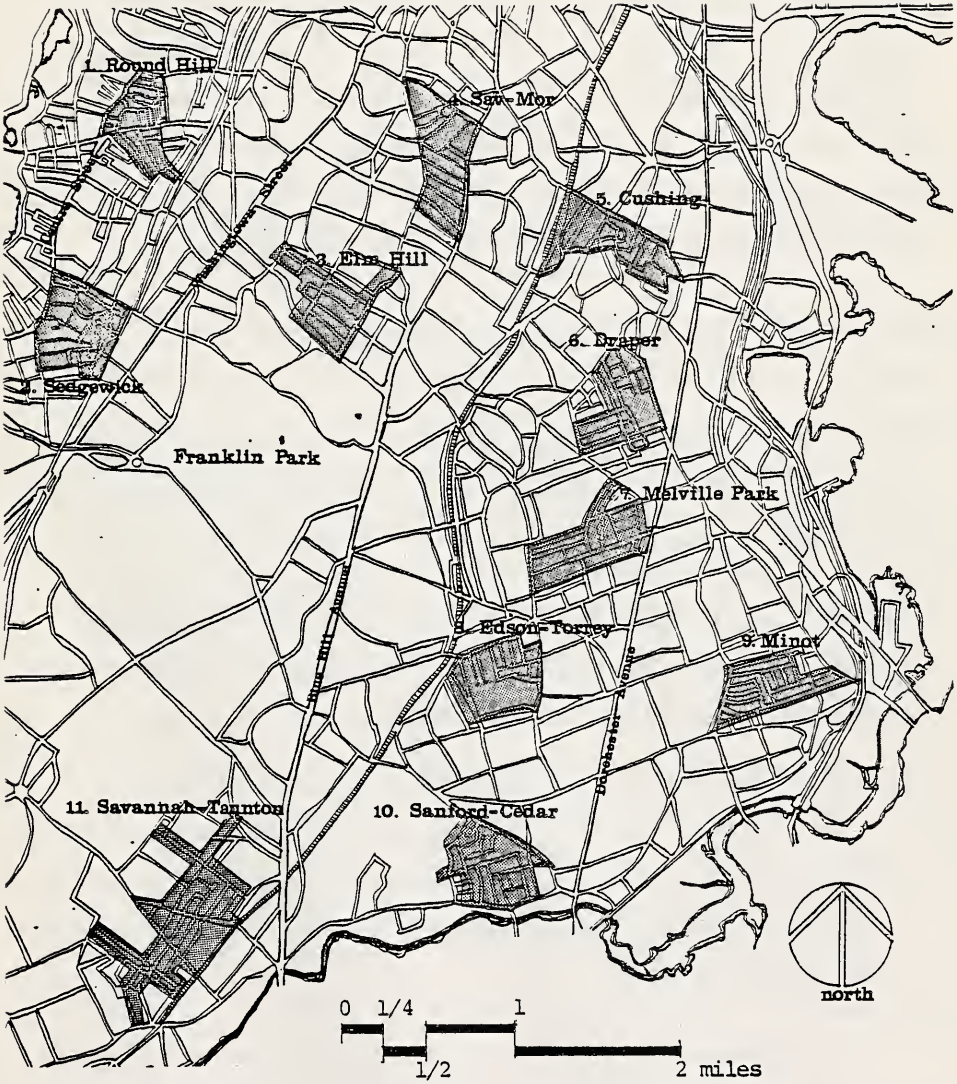
The project experimented with a broad variety of information strategies for building neighborhood confidence. These include building working relationships with and among the key actors; conducting tours of Boston neighborhoods for real estate brokers, journalists and concerned citizens; producing a TV documentary about life in the Melville-Park neighborhood of Dorchester; counselling prospective home buyers; producing two brochures about housing options in the city -- "Boston's Triple-Deckers" and "Living in Boston;" and stimulating positive coverage of Boston neighborhoods by the print and broadcast media.

The Neighborhood Confidence Survey

The survey, conducted in 1977 and 1978, sought to produce information to guide Neighborhood Confidence Project activities and to evaluate two activities that had already been completed. Therefore, the survey investigated residents' opinions about the future of their neighborhoods and people's views of change in their residential areas. It probed how people choose their homes and what factors influence those decisions.

In the first phase of the survey we interviewed 376 residents of 11 study areas in Dorchester, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain. During the second phase, 40 in-depth follow-up inter-

MAP 1.2: LOCATION AND IDENTITY OF STUDY AREAS



views were conducted with residents of five of the areas. Each study neighborhood contained between 1800 and 3800 residents. We interviewed two groups: long-term residents (defined as persons who have lived at their present address for ten or more years) and recent buyers (owner-occupants who purchased their homes within the last four years). Seven-eighths of the respondents were homeowners.

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

In the sections below major findings of the survey are presented in italics. A discussion of the implications for neighborhood policy and theory follows each finding.

Residents' levels of confidence in their own neighborhoods varied greatly. Therefore it is imperative to start defining neighborhoods in smaller-scale terms.

- *Neighborhood confidence was measured by residents' responses to four questions: What direction have property values been moving in your area? What will your neighborhood be like in three years? Would you move here again or recommend the area to your children? Do you plan to stay?*

The marked differences in resident attitudes and perceptions that we found among areas that are close geographically underscores the importance of defining "neighborhoods" as areas that are small enough for these differences to be clearly

apparent. This finding is particularly important because several of the study areas that are quite distinct in their levels of neighborhood confidence are part of larger city sectors that are often considered by researchers, public officials, journalists and bankers to be single districts. For example, most survey research relating to Boston's neighborhoods conducted in the last several years has framed its results in terms of larger areas such as "Jamaica Plain," "Roxbury," "North Dorchester" and "South Dorchester/Mattapan." Statements about the attitudes and perceptions of residents living in these larger districts often mask vital differences among the inhabitants of different, small neighborhoods. While the larger districts may be appropriate for looking at some issues, an exclusive focus on areas of that size seriously distorts our understanding of what is occurring in Boston neighborhoods.

The study neighborhoods are located within larger city regions that are often characterized as declining or deteriorating. We found each to be a unique combination of strengths and problems. Several of the neighborhoods have characteristics that provide a solid basis for social and physical improvements. Contining to study, to talk and to think about Boston neighborhoods in gross, large-scale terms hurts the prospects for upgrading these districts.

Carving the city into "neighborhoods" of tens of thousands of inhabitants serves both to obscure positive and hopeful signs and to hide severe problems that are concentrated in

smaller sections. This issue of scale holds true not just for research but for other purposes such as allocating public monies among residential districts. Where there are considerable differences in residents' confidence among small neighborhoods within the same larger district, the effectiveness of strategies for allocating resources depends on taking these differences into account.

Owner-occupancy is the most important determinant of neighborhood confidence.

- *High and increasing rates of owner-occupancy promote high neighborhood confidence. Areas of low or decreasing owner-occupancy have low neighborhood confidence.*

- *Levels of confidence do not vary consistently with the physical condition and age profile of neighborhoods. The two most confident sets of recent home buyers live in areas of very good physical condition, but the two next most confident areas have among the worst physical environments.*

- *Racial stability helps to explain some differences in neighborhood confidence, but is less influential than the degree of owner-occupancy.*

The strong connection between owner-occupancy and neighborhood confidence confirms a basic premise of the project: encouraging home ownership helps to increase neighborhood confidence on the part of both present and prospective residents. An increasing rate of owner-occupancy contributes

to the confidence of long-term residents; high owner-occupancy sustains the commitment of recent buyers to their neighborhoods.

The connection between owner-occupancy and property maintenance is well-documented and broadly recognized. The clear association between owner-occupancy and neighborhood confidence is not. It is essential to include this relationship in theories of neighborhood change because it outweighs the traditionally considered physical condition as a cause of resident confidence.

One major policy implication of our conclusions about the relative influence of these variables on neighborhood confidence is that encouraging owner-occupancy may be a more effective public strategy for building confidence than financing housing rehabilitation. In addition, the findings indicate that efforts to improve physical conditions should be coupled with encouragement of owner-occupancy.

While the characteristics of new residents, including their race and class status, is of concern to both long-term and new residents, owner-occupancy has a clearer connection with confidence levels. The strength of this connection suggests that attention to this factor might help to combat the negative reactions of long-term residents to racial change.

"Stay in the City" home buyers are more important than the "Back to the City" movement.

- *Most of the neighborhoods' recent buyers already lived in Boston.*

The vast majority (84%) lived in Boston proper immediately before purchasing a home, and one-half of the recent buyers lived in the same neighborhoods where they bought.

- *Among the 11 Jamaica Plain, Roxbury and Dorchester neighborhoods studied, only one has experienced an appreciable influx of suburbanites.*

- *Seventy per cent of recent buyers were tenants before they bought their present homes.*

The high proportion of recent buyers who already lived in Boston means that it is important to pay attention to the needs of this group. Present residents of the City are the most important source of demand for housing in the neighborhoods of Boston we studied. While the "Back to the City" movement is symbolically compelling and has received a great deal of attention in the media and in professional circles, it represents a small fraction of the demand for homes in these residential areas of Boston.

The fact that people from the suburbs buy homes in central city neighborhoods can help build the confidence of long-term residents and prospective buyers, but there is a danger that focusing on the "Back to the City" group will deflect attention from other opportunities to strengthen the confidence of present city residents. This issue is especially important given the suspicions of some residents that the City is deliberately disinvesting in their areas in order

to facilitate their eventual takeover by young professional home buyers. Growing public concern with the issue of residential displacement suggests that these suspicions about public intentions could grow.

Recent buyers have much higher neighborhood confidence than do long-term residents.

- *Recent home buyers are twice as likely as long-term residents to feel that property values have risen or stayed the same during the past three years.*

- *Recent buyers are more optimistic in their predictions of what the future holds for their neighborhoods. About twice as many recent buyers as long-term residents think that things will get better. Similar proportions of recent and long-term residents think that things will remain the same.*

- *While three-quarters of recent buyers would repeat their decision to buy in their neighborhood, less than 60 per cent of long-term residents would recommend their area to their own children or to other young people.*

- *In response to the question, "What have you seen happening in your neighborhood? What's different and what's the same?", long-term residents mentioned twice as many negative changes as did recent buyers.*

- *A majority of both long-term residents and recent buyers do not anticipate moving.*

The strong differences in recent buyers' and long-term residents' feelings about their neighborhoods are a source of friction and can discourage property investment and encourage people to move out. In those areas where recent buyers differ from long-term residents in racial and/or class status, the differences in neighborhood confidence reflect racial and class antagonisms that translate into decreased commitment to a neighborhood.

In a city where population size and composition is changing, it is inevitable that there will be some friction between people who are moving into, and people who are presently living in, an area. Long-term and new residents' levels of confidence could be used by planners and other city personnel to anticipate future problems and opportunities. This information could allow the City to predict those areas where social conflict is likely to increase or abate and to pinpoint situations where public investments could ease a situation and effectively contribute to building neighborhood confidence. Of course, it is to be expected that recent buyers will have a generally higher level of confidence than long-term inhabitants. The most useful way to compare these two groups within single neighborhoods is to compare their respective confidence relative to that of the total number of recent buyers and long-term residents interviewed.

In interpreting the confidence levels of long-term and new residents, one should think of neighborhoods as social as well as geographic units. Where rapid turnover is occur-

ring, it is relatively meaningless to speak of the overall confidence of an area, because who constitutes that area is changing so dramatically.

Residents' desires for the future and recommendations to City government emphasize physical and environmental improvements.

- *Physical and environmental improvements ranked highest in residents' hopes for the future of their areas and in their recommendations for action by City government.*

- *In response to the question, "What would you like your neighborhood to be like?", 34 per cent of the responses of both recent buyers and long-term residents concerned physical and environmental improvements.*

- *When asked to state their highest priority for action by City government to improve their neighborhoods, residents most frequently sought municipal action to upgrade the physical environment. Examples of specific improvements desired included paving streets and sidewalks, improving street lighting, improving the cleanliness of streets and cleaning up vacant lots.*

Our open-ended questions yielded a greater emphasis on physical and environmental improvements than other City-wide survey research has shown. While other aspects of life and other remedial actions are by no means insignificant in our results, physical and environmental conditions stand out. Even though physical condition of areas does not vary consis-

tently with neighborhood confidence, it is clear that municipal action to improve physical and environmental conditions would contribute to residents' satisfaction and confidence. This finding seems particularly important since these improvements -- while by no means easy to accomplish -- are within the means of City government to significantly affect (more so than, say, crime rates and the quality of the public school system).

<u>In more stable, socially cohesive neighborhoods, recent buyers rely on direct, personal sources of information when they are buying a home</u>.

- *In neighborhoods with low population change and high homogeneity recent buyers rely exclusively on their prior familiarity with the area and on personal contacts to answer their questions when buying a home.*

- *In neighborhoods of higher population change, personal, more informal sources of information are less important and buyers are more likely to get the information they want from real estate brokers.*

These differences are significant for the design of information strategies to affect the neighborhood confidence of present and prospective residents. The more stable, socially cohesive neighborhoods (in which high proportions of the buyers already live in the area or in the immediate vicinity) will be less affected by public forms of communication like TV shows or articles in City-wide newspapers. While these

forms of communication may influence people's attitudes and perceptions, they are not likely to tell prospective buyers what they want to know. In such areas, more effective information strategies would emphasize working with existing neighborhood associations, counselling individuals who are looking, and working with the neighborhood press.

In areas where reliance on real estate brokers has been greater in the recent past and where personal contacts and prior familiarity were less important sources of information, more formal, less personalized forms of communication are potentially more effective. In these neighborhoods it may be more productive to work with real estate brokers, distribute printed materials, and work with the City-wide print and broadcast media.

People feel that newspaper coverage of their neighborhood is more accurate than TV coverage, and they recall more negative newspaper stories.

- *People feel that newspaper coverage of their neighborhood is more accurate than TV coverage.*

- *When asked about the last newspaper and TV stories about their neighborhood they recall reading and seeing, people tend to remember more negative newspaper articles than negative TV stories. Forty-five per cent of the recent buyers and 36 per cent of long-term residents remembered a negative newspaper article on their neighborhood whereas only 14 per cent of recent buyers and 15 per cent*

of long-term residents recalled a negative TV news story.

- *Although fewer residents read weekly neighborhood newspapers than read Boston dailies, the neighborhood papers are read by a considerable proportion of recent home buyers (42%) and long-term residents (51%).*

The considerable readership of neighborhood papers is important because people look to the neighborhood press for more favorable coverage of events in their immediate residential area. This means that strengthening neighborhood papers, increasing their circulation and using them to communicate with the public would be effective ways of building neighborhood confidence.

The fact that people more frequently recall negative newspaper articles about their neighborhoods suggests that the newspaper coverage may have a greater detrimental effect on neighborhood confidence. If this is true, newspaper coverage may be more important than TV as a focus for neighborhood confidence-building activities.

Early products of the Neighborhood Confidence Project reached large numbers of people and received strong positive response.

- *Forty-one per cent of long-term residents and 30 per cent of recent buyers saw the TV documentary "Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park." The figures are higher for neighborhoods within Dorchester. A slightly larger percentage of people saw ads for the show than actually watched it. Reaction to the program was overwhelmingly positive.*

- *In Jamaica Plain, one-half of the residents interviewed had seen the poster of that neighborhood. From less than one-fifth to over one-half the residents of the study neighborhoods in Dorchester had seen the Dorchester poster. Almost everyone reacted positively to these publications designed to boost neighborhood pride.*

The neighborhood confidence survey recommends new tools for planners.

- *The experience of the neighborhood confidence survey suggests new tools for monitoring processes of neighborhood change: (1) adaptive re-use of data generated for purposes of voter registration, and information on real estate transactions; and (2) short-answer survey questions that are efficient indicators of changing levels of neighborhood confidence.*

The household survey shows that a few short-answer questions effectively distinguish major attitudes and perceptions of long-term residents and recent buyers. While these questions were embedded in longer interviews, our experience shows that brief telephone surveys could be an efficient way to keep track of shifts in residents' attitudes and perceptions. U.S. Census data and other sources of information are typically produced so infrequently and expensively that they are fairly useless to persons responsible for trying to improve neighborhood conditions. We urge further experimentation with the approach of conducting household interviews that include short-answer questions like the ones

we found to be productive (See Chapter III).

During the process of building a survey sample and generating information to help analyze the survey results we used two sources of data that are collected regularly for other purposes: a list of Boston residents that is annually updated for voter registration records, and weekly reports of all real estate transactions in the City. By putting these two types of information together, we computed simple measures of the pace of shifts in population composition, occupational and age profiles, rates of owner-occupancy, sales prices, and mortgage trends (See Appendix V).

These sources of information have great untapped potential both for municipal personnel and for neighborhood organizations. Neighborhood planners and community activists could use this data to regularly and cheaply produce indicators of neighborhood stability, such as owner-occupancy rates and changes in age and occupational profiles. A great advantage of this data is that it can be used to check on developments in very small-scale neighborhoods and is not dependent on time-consuming and costly surveys.

The chapters that follow provide more detailed information on the points summarized above as well as other topics covered by the survey. Some of the material in this chapter is repeated in subsequent chapters, particularly Chapter II, the Introdution.

II. INTRODUCTION

"Measuring Neighborhood Confidence" presents the results of a household survey conducted in the Dorchester, Roxbury and Jamaica Plains sections of Boston. The survey investigated residents' opinions about the future of their neighborhoods and their perceptions of change in their neighborhoods. The survey also inquired into the process by which residents had chosen their homes and explored the factors influencing that decision, particularly the information sources they had relied on in buying a home and choosing a neighborhood.

The Neighborhood Confidence Project

The interviews were conducted for research and evaluation purposes associated with the City of Boston's Neighborhood Confidence Project. The aims of this project are : (1) to encourage owner-occupants to stay in their present neighborhoods; (2) to encourage tenants already living in city neighborhoods and people from outside to buy homes in the target areas, (3) to change the behavior and attitudes of "key actors" such as realtors, bankers, municipal officials and media personnel whose daily work influences the decisions of present owners to stay and of others to move in; and (4) to arrange that those project activities proven to be effective be continued under either public or private sponsorship. To achieve these aims the City has made deliberate attempts to improve resident confidence in project

neighborhoods.

Activities undertaken by the "Neighborhood Confidence Project" include meetings with and brokering of relationships among "key actors"; tours of Boston neighborhoods for realtors and others; production and broadcasting of an hour-long documentary providing information about housing and other aspects of living in one Boston neighborhood; individual home ownership counselling; publication and distribution of two brochures: "Boston's Triple-Deckers" and "Living in Boston"; and stimulation of more positive coverage of Boston neighborhoods by the daily and weekly press and local television stations.

The Neighborhood Confidence Project was funded under a U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Innovative Project Grant for the period March 1977 to September 1978. The HUD-sponsored activities were an expansion and a continuation of work on neighborhood confidence begun by the City in 1975 with the publication of a poster of the Dorchester area.

The neighborhood confidence survey

This report presents the results of the survey of resident attitudes and perceptions mentioned above. The first phase of the survey, conducted between July 18 and August 31, 1977, includes interviews with 376 residents of eleven study areas in the Dorchester, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain districts of Boston.

The second phase consists of 40 face to face, follow-up interviews with residents of five of the eleven original study

areas. These personal interviews were designed to elicit a deeper understanding of residents' perceptions and levels of confidence. They supplemented the initial telephone survey information by revealing the interviewees' personal definitions of their neighborhoods; by probing in greater depth residents' feelings about their neighborhoods; and by uncovering the interactions which respondents have with other residents of their neighborhoods.

Two groups of residents were interviewed in both stages: long-term residents (defined as persons who have lived at their present address for ten or more years), and recent-buyers (owner-occupants who purchased their homes within the last four years). Telephone interviews were conducted with 208 long-term residents and 168 recent-buyers. The respondents in each category were selected randomly from the long-term and recent-buyer populations identified in each study area. As a deliberate reflection of the City's interests and our sampling procedures, the sample emphasizes owners (327) rather than tenants (49). The survey did not include people whose length of residence fell between long-term and recent, nor people who moved into and out of the area prior to our survey. Each study area contains between 500 and 1400 households and from 1650 to 3800 residents. They range in sized from 8 to 19 square blocks. A complete discussion of the survey methodology is provided in Appendix II.

The goals of the survey were twofold. First, to assess the impact of selected Neighborhood Confidence Project activities, and second, to produce information that would help to guide subsequent

project activities. For the latter purpose we prepared a preliminary report to the City of Boston on January 20, 1978.* Through the survey we sought to clarify our understanding of the types of people and the areas of Boston that would benefit from project activities, and to learn where the information strategies of the project would be most effective.

In addition to pursuing immediate, action-oriented research objectives, the survey addressed issues of broader significance for Boston neighborhoods and for other cities. This volume reports our findings with an eye to their potential use beyond the life span of the Neighborhood Confidence Project by persons concerned with neighborhood policy and planning in Boston and elsewhere.

The survey questions addressed the qualitative issues that guide people's choice of a home and determine their satisfaction with their chosen neighborhood. We asked respondents why they had chosen their particular location and where else they had looked. What was their process of buying a home? What did they want to know about the neighborhood before moving in? What sources of information did they use? What factors influenced the decision most heavily? What do they like most about their neighborhood? What do they like least?

---

* Robert M. Hollister, et al., "Preliminary Report: Telephone Survey of Long-term Residents and Recent Home Buyers in Dorchester, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain". January 20, 1978.

An additional set of questions explored the respondents' use of print and broadcast media. Here we were interested not only in which papers were read and which channels tuned in, but also in reactions to the coverage of their neighborhood.

Several questions explored residents' levels of confidence in the future of their neighborhoods. We sought to discover in detail the different components and factors involved in a household's confidence in the area in which it is located. We asked residents to describe what was happening in their area and how they felt about it. Were people maintaining or improving their properties? Why? Had they personally made repairs or improvements in the recent past and did they plan to repair in the future? We also gathered information about respondents' occupations, location of workplace, family size, schools their children attend, level of participation in community organizations, educational level, and ethnic and racial backgrounds.*

The remainder of this chapter places our study in the context of existing research on the nature of neighborhoods, processes of neighborhood change and housing location decisions. The following chapter discusses neighborhood confidence: What does it mean to different kinds of residents? What are indicators of confidence? What factors influence residents' confidence in the future of their neighborhoods? Subsequent chapters analyze residents' perceptions of how their neighborhoods are changing and why; processes of choosing a house and a neighborhood; levels of

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* See Appendices VI and VII for copies of the surveys administered to long-term residents and to recent buyers.

home maintenance and improvement; and use of, and attitudes toward, local print and broadcast media. Chapter IV presents brief case studies of five study areas which exhibit different levels of confidence in order to clarify the variety of relationships between neighborhood confidence and population change.

The research context

At a time of increasing public and academic attention to neighborhood policy and neighborhood change, words like "neighborhood" and "community" mask widely divergent assumptions, beliefs, and definitions. The literature on neighborhoods consists of research done from a broad range of methodological and disciplinary perspectives. Each group of researchers focuses on different determinants of neighborhood change. Economists emphasize the cost of housing and, to a lesser extent, access to employment (Alonso, 1965; Goldstein and Davis, 1977; Grigsby, 1963); demographers stress type of household and physical quality (Butler, et. al. 1969; Moore, 1972); sociologists and social historians focus on ethnicity, race and social class (Keller, 1968; Park, et. al. 1967; Pahl. 1968; Gans, 1962; Suttles, 1972); and planners concentrate on social class and on the physical quality of the neighborhood (Birch et al., 1974; Hodas, 1975; Goetze, 1976; Ahlbrandt and Brophy, 1975). Our approach is closest to that of studies conducted by other urban planners in that we have explored social class distinctions, qualities of the physical environment and individual perceptions and attitudes.

The existing literature on neighborhood change focuses chiefly on processes of decline (Hoover and Vernon, 1959; Birch, 1971; Leven, Little, Nourse and Read, 1976; Cannon, Lachman, and Bernhard, 1977; Real Estate Research Corp., 1975). Areas that are in the final stages of neighborhood change are regarded as "unhealthy" and non-viable (Cannon et al., 1977), abandoned (Leven et al., 1976) or subject to clearance and urban renewal (Hoover and Vernon, 1959; Birch, 1971). The prevailing approach to neighborhood research has seen neighborhood change as a progression in one direction only, from stability to decline. The only perceived remedy for deterioration and abandonment is what Birch calls "recapture," where property is re-acquired, leveled or rehabilitated and put to more efficient use. The role of rehabilitation and upgrading by present residents as a key to revitalization has only surfaced recently (Rogg, 1977; James, 1977; Clay, 1978).*

In this study we have looked at neighborhood change without assuming it to be negative. Neighborhood life cycles vary greatly and we have attempted to uncover that variety rather than classify each area as belonging to one stage or another in a continuim. The measures of neighborhood confidence that we have proposed can be regarded as indicators more of neighborhood health than of decline.

Neighborhood researchers have frequently undertaken the task of defining "neighborhood" as one part of their work. (Hodas, 1975;

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* The understanding of urban housing markets and neighborhood conditions has recently benefited from a new examination of demographic trends (Goetze, Colton and O'Donnell, 1977) and analysis of the effects of sharply escalating housing costs (Frieden and Solomon, 1977).

Keller, 1968) We have not done this; rather we have allowed the relatively small scale of our study areas (1800 - 3800 people) to implicitly define neighborhood as the geographic area of closest, most intimate social contact and the physical space in the immediate vicinity of people's homes. In asking residents about their atttitudes toward their neighborhood, we left up to them how to interpret the term "neighborhood." We felt that this openness was important in order to obtain accurate observations of their perceptions, feelings and behavior. We tried to avoid imposing definitions of neighborhood that might distort what people had to say in response to our questions. During the follow-up, in-depth interviews, we probed in detail what long-term residents and recent buyers mean when they refer to "my neighborhood." In some instances, the dominant meaning of neighborhood is restricted to the street on which the respondent lives. Other people relate more naturally to a larger set of blocks. Among long-term residents, and a smaller proportion of recent buyers, the local parish of the Catholic Church is the most significant referent, and definitions of neighborhood coincide with those of the parish (in Boston a unit much larger than our study areas).

The research context into which this report fits might be labeled: "Neighborhoods: Geographically defined, socio-physically studied." It is within this framework of neighborhood research that we hope this study will help to break some new ground. Although the questions we have asked are not original, the focus of our inquiry and the aims of the project out of which the research grew are departures from the past.

The major themes of this study that distinguish it from previous research on urban neighborhoods are the following:

1. Reliance on the perceptions of neighborhood residents (rather than those of outside "experts") as a measure of neighborhood confidence.

2. Examination of the fine-grain differences among neighborhoods in residents' perceptions and levels of confidence.

3. Weighing the importance of demographic composition and building condition in the light of the survey results rather than using that information as a measure of neighborhood confidence.

Measuring confidence with neighborhood perceptions

The focus of this study lies with people's perceptions of their own neighborhoods. The Neighborhood Confidence Project asserted that residents' perceptions of their neighborhoods are a critical measure of neighborhood health, fully as important as quality of housing stock and other "objective" factors. People make decisions based on their assessment of particular situations which are influenced to varying degrees by economic, political, social and psychological forces. This does not, of course, mean that objective measures are not important, but that they must be supplemented with an understanding of more subtle psychological influences on very complex residential decisions. (This approach contrasts with that of a writer such as Grigsby who considers market forces to be crucial, and is closer to the approach taken by Birch (1974, 1977a-c) and Coleman (1978) who have asked people for their opinions through extensive fieldwork.

By basing our analysis of neighborhood confidence on the perceptions of the people living in those areas we have departed from the standard practice of using real estate agents, bankers and city planners as the chief sources of information. This new (and we believe critical) barometer of neighborhood health can better reflect the strengths and weaknesses of particular neighborhoods. For example, a neighborhood that is perceived as healthy by its residents, but run-down by outside observers, might benefit substantially and be a good risk for renewed private investment, whereas a neighborhood that "looks good" and "feels bad" might need some public investment of resources (monetary or service) to turn it around.

As part of the discussion of neighborhood attitudes it is important to note that the Neighborhood Confidenece Project started from the contention that it is possible to directly affect the confidence that people have in their neighborhoods and influence the perceptions and attitudes of area residents. In taking this approach the project staff was fully aware that the realities of the housing market, quality of public services, property tax rates and other factors have strongly influenced people's neighborhood confidence. But, they were also aware that the City's and their own professional efforts to improve local neighborhoods continually documented and publicized the problems of city neighborhoods. They felt that to some degree this well-intentioned work also contributed to the creation and maintenance of negative images for these areas and thus acted as negative self-fulfilling prophecies. In response to this basic observation, they set out

to try the opposite approach: to identify strengths of residential areas and put in motion positive self-fulfilling prophecies.

The theoretical underpinnings of this approach are articulated in Rolf Goetze's Building Neighborhood Confidence. Goetze's work expresses much of the conceptual bases for the project and he was intimately involved in planning and running it. In many respects the Neighborhood Confidence Project tests his ideas and conclusions.*

Fine-grain differences in perceptions of neighborhood confidence

Neighborhood studies vary greatly in the scale of what they consider to be neighborhoods. Variations in analytical results can sometimes be explained in terms of the scale of the study. For example, several recent city-wide surveys of Boston residents about neighborhood issues have presented and analyzed findings according to neighborhoods containing upwards of 50,000 persons; our areas contained only 1800-3800 people. The very small scale of our areas tends to emphasize micro-differences in attitudes, whereas in larger areas extreme differences may average out, and a great variety in perceptions be masked. Thus, Dorchester may appear to be a deteriorating neighborhood in a large-scale study and thereby obscure the fact that within Dorchester there are

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* While Goetze's writing is the best printed source on neighborhood confidence, the Boston Neighborhood Confidence Project developed out of the work of a group of city planners and other professionals, some of them residents of the Dorchester section of Boston.

small-scale neighborhoods such as Minot and Melville-Park that have very high neighborhood confidence.

The issue of scale is also important in understanding issues of integration and segregation. Many studies assert that people want to live near people like themselves in income, race and other characteristics. We found this to be generally true, although a small proportion of residents explicitly endorse racial or class integration as being something they desire in choosing a place to live. Very small spatial units can be completely homogeneous, and for some that is satisfactory. We discovered a pervasive "island" mentality, where people considered their own small, immediate neighborhood to be a "safe zone" amidst deterioration, and they were content to remain on their island. Of course, if their neighborhood were defined as very large they would be classified as living in a very different and perhaps unacceptable area. Similarly, if there is a white enclave in a predominantly Black area, whether this area is segregated or integrated depends on the scale of how people define their neighborhood.

The size of areas defined as neighborhoods can therefore have major implications in terms of understanding neighborhood conditions and resident perceptions. Policy drawn up on the basis of coarse-grained neighborhood information may not address the real conditions of the areas it affects.

Using demographic and building condition data to help understand rather than to measure neighborhood confidence

Three measures of neighborhood change that have been frequently used as indicators of neighborhood health and stability are racial or ethnic population transitions, changes in building conditions, and shifts in income levels (Leven et al., 1976; Aldrich, 1975; Ingram, 1977.) These factors have been offered as strong evidence for concluding whether a neighborhood is stable, improving or deteriorating.

We have tackled the question of neighborhood confidence from a different angle. First, neighborhood confidence was assessed by interviewing residents; those assessments were then looked at in conjunction with racial stability and building condition data. The results of this alternative model for learning about neighborhood confidence challenge conventional theory. The expected correlations of low racial stability with low neighborhood confidence, and good building condition with high neighborhood confidence were not borne out. The results were very scattered. Neighborhoods appeared showing such patterns as Low Neighborhood Confidence-High Racial Stability-Good Physical Condition (Sedgwick) or Very High Neighborhood Confidence-Medium Racial Stability-Very Good Physical Condition (Melville Park).

The fact that the expected correlations between the "objective" measures and the subjective interview data did not hold true is very important to our understanding of neighborhood confidence. Although our findings are certainly not conclusive enough to demand

major re-evaluation of existing research on neighborhood issues, they do indicate the need for close scrutiny of the current use of "objective" data in neighborhood research, especially in the area of policy decisions with regard to allocating city resources among neighborhoods.

The report in the context of the Neighborhood Confidence Project

The household survey reported on in this volume relates to the Neighborhood Confidence Project in the following ways: (1) Some of the survey questions contributed to the project evaluation by probing residents' awareness of, and response to, project activities and products. In addition, the survey produced baseline information about residents' attitudes and perceptions that would be a basis for subsequent evaluation work. (2) The survey analysis developed recommendations about where and how future work of the Neighborhood Confidence Project could be concentrated to best advantage. Questions about the sources of information upon which recent buyers relied in choosing a home, for example, were designed to help improve the effectiveness of subsequent information strategies of the project. (3) The survey sought to produce new knowledge about processes of neighborhood change and neighborhood confidence. The project of which this survey is a part sought to contribute to the building of theories about neighborhood change that would be more useful to planners working in neighborhoods at various stages of physical improvement and decline, and at different stages and rates of population change. The initiators of the

confidence-building approach were working in areas for which the existing models did not provide accurate or useful analysis. The Neighborhood Confidence Project developed in part in reaction to the prevailing problem-orientation of urban planners with respect to neighborhoods and in reaction to stages of decline theories about neighborhoods and neighborhood change.

This work of the City of Boston represented a continuation and an extension of information strategies and network building activities that seemed to be working, but which staff was still very much in the process of developing. The Boston planners lacked a clear concept of what is meant by "neighborhood confidence." In addition, their theories about neighborhood change were largely intuitive. They were based on direct experience, but were not related systematically to existing theory about neighborhoods. Therefore, the research component of the project was an opportunity to advance theory as well as to help accomplish specific goals within the Boston context.

III. INDICATORS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE

This chapter reports on levels of neighborhood confidence determined by the household survey. We found that residents' confidence varied greatly among neighborhoods. There are striking differences in level of confidence between residential areas that are close to each other geographically and that are often considered to be part of the same neighborhood. This suggests that it is important to look at neighborhoods in smaller scale terms that is usually the case.

Recent buyers show higher neighborhood confidence than long-term residents with very few exceptions. Higher rates of recent buyers think their neighborhood will be better in three years, think that property values have risen or been stable in the recent past, and would repeat their decision to buy in the neighborhood (as compared with the extent to which long-term residents would recommend the area to young people).

Residents' confidence did not vary consistently with physical condition or with racial stability, although the pace of racial change partially explains long-term residents' confidence levels. Neighborhood confidence also does not vary according to the age of respondents. The factor that seems to be most clearly associated with high confidence is rate of owner-occupancy. Neighborhoods of high confidence tended to be ones with high absolute levels of owner-occupancy and/or rates of owner-occupancy that had increased

considerably in the recent past. Areas of low confidence were usually ones with a low or decreasing proportion of the homes occupied by the owner.

This chapter first describes a composite index of neighborhood confidence, then analyzes response to the four individual questions that were most productive, and finally discusses factors that influence levels of confidence.

Towards a composite indicator of neighborhood confidence

Our analysis of confidence focuses on the four questions that brought out most clearly residents' perceptions of the past and present and their attitudes toward the future. We have constructed a composite index of confidence based on responses to these questions. We took this approach because it is important to consider simultaneously the several dimensions of residents' confidence. We are not convinced that the questions asked are the best ones. This is an experimental approach offered in the hope that it will stimulate critical response and will contribute to others' efforts to develop more accurate and useful measures of residents' perceptions and attitudes.

Key questions for measuring neighborhood confidence were:

- Do residents anticipate moving and, if so, why? (Tables 3.1,3.2)
- What do they think their neighborhood will be like in three years? (Table 3.3)
- What are residents' perceptions of the direction of property values in their neighborhoods in recent years: Have property values risen, fallen, or stayed the same? (Table 3.4)

- Would recent buyers repeat their decision to move in? Would long-term residents recommend the neighborhood to their children or to other young people? (Tables 3.7, 3.8)

Our survey of residents asked several other questions designed to probe their confidence in their neighborhoods. These included questions about their perceptions of and desires for the future; their views as to whether their neighbors were maintaining, improving, or letting their property go; and about the home maintenance and improvements that they have done and that they anticipated doing. We had expected, in particular, that rates of home maintenance and improvement would vary among the study neighborhoods, but we found quite consistent levels of home repair activity. Therefore this data was less useful than we had expected in defining and in understanding levels of confidence in different areas. While we examined people's reasons for making repairs, we did not find significant variation in their motivations for undertaking comparable rates of property maintenance and improvement.

This similarity across study areas probably results from the fact that we were interviewing owner-occupants, not absentee owners. The home maintenance patterns of the latter group are more likely to be affected by shifts in neighborhood and attitudes.

The information elicited by these other questions is

presented and analyzed in subsequent sections of the report. In this chapter we focus on the four questions specified above because they prove to distinguish most clearly the attitudes of long-term and new residents and of residents of different neighborhoods.

Variations in neighborhood confidence

Residents in the study areas vary considerably in their levels of neighborhood confidence. In addition, recent buyers are much more confident than are long-term residents. The patters indicated in the tables below reveal that neighborhoods and the two types of residents differ substantially in terms of residents' perceptions of property value trends, the extent to which they plan to stay, their predictions for the future, and their willingness to repeat the decision to move into their present areas.*

Table 3.6 shows the proportion of long-term residents and recent buyers in each area who gave confident answers to the four basic questions. The percentages presented below indicate the proportion of respondents who: (a) felt that property values had either risen or stayed the same; (b) do not anticipate moving; (c) feel that in three years their area will experience either positive changes or no

* A cautionary note with respect to comparing the responses of long-term residents and recent buyers: although recent buyers are consistently more positive in their views, it is important to remember that they have all recently made a major financial investment in their home, their neighborhood and the City of Boston. As a result, they may tend to shade their attitudes toward consistency with their actions. It would not be surprising if part of their optimism reflected a tendency to justify or to rationalize their home purchase decisions.

changes at all; and (d) would buy again in the same neighborhood if they were to do it all over again, or would recommend the area to their children or to other young people.

We ranked the study areas in terms of the responses to each of these questions. Table 3.5 presents these rankings in numerical form ("1" indicating the highest proportion answering confidently, "10" the lowest proportion among the study areas).* In addition, we divided the areas into "Low," "Medium" and "High" groups, defining these groups according to clusters of areas with roughly similar scores. We computed an overall confidence rating for each group of residents in comparison with other study areas by adding together the individual rankings for each neighborhood. For example, in the table below, for recent buyers in Round Hill the sum of rankings for the four questions was 16. This figure placed the Round Hill recent buyers fifth among their counterparts in the ten study areas. It is, of course, methodologically hazardous to add these figures together. We report them as separate items but listed individually, as is shown in Table 3.6, in order to facilitate considering them together.

We cannot stress too much the importance of not attaching undue significance to these numbers. The difference between a total of 12 and 15 is not a significant distinction, although larger numerical differences do indicate real differences in neighborhood confidence.

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* We excluded Edson-Torrey (area #8) from these computations because of the small sample size in that area.

The responses of residents in the 11 study areas showed a considerable range, and indicate striking differences in their perceptions and attitudes. For example, in the Draper area 75% of the recent buyers do not anticipate moving, while in Round Hill only 22% of them do not. 88% of long-term residents in Melville-Park would recommend that area to to their children or to other young people while in Round Hill only 27% of the long-term residents would do so.

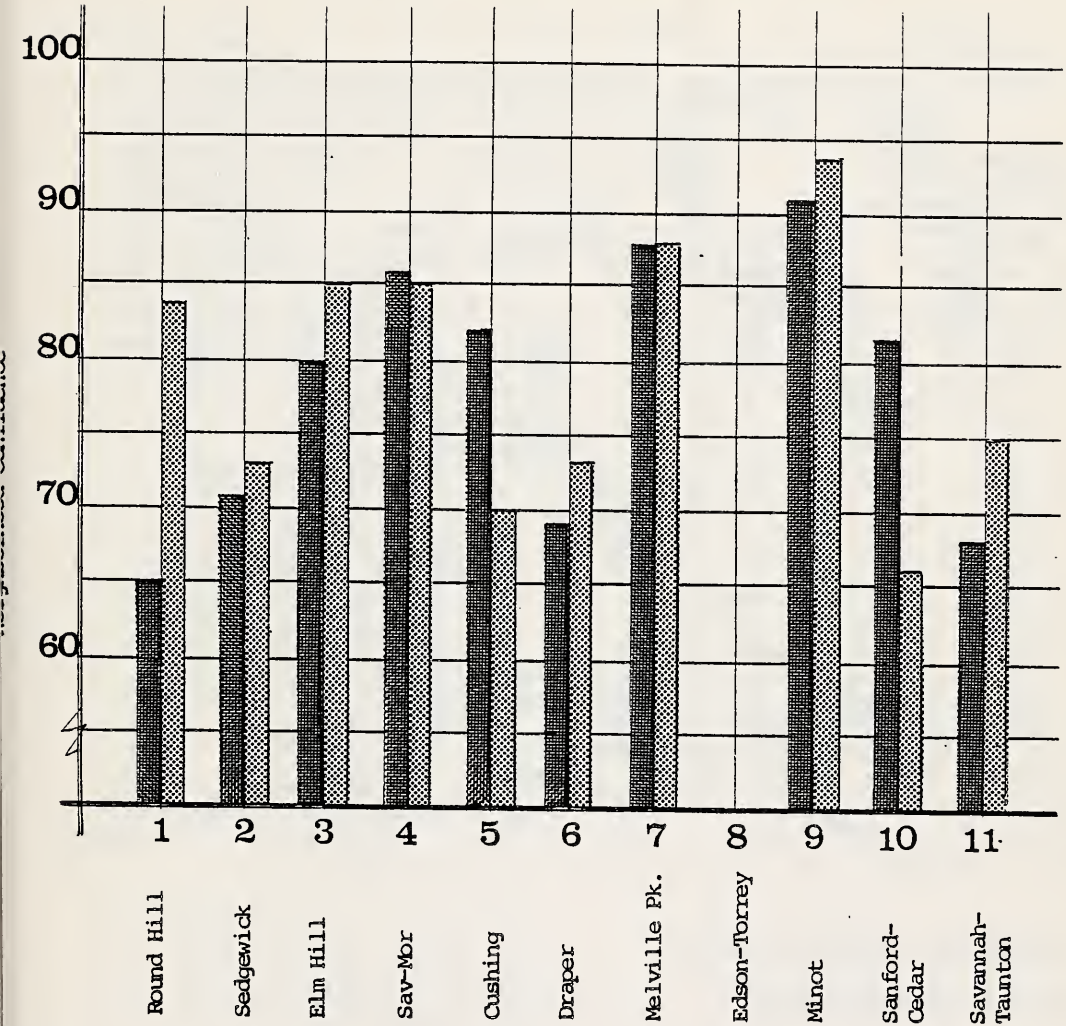
As Tables 3.5 and 3.6, Graph 3.1, and Map 3.1 indicate, the responses of each type of resident (long-term and recent) within each study area tend to cluster in terms of their comparative ranking. By pulling together the responses to these separate questions, we can see that neighborhood confidence in Minot is very high among both long-term residents and recent buyers. Residents in Melville-Park and Sav-Mor also show comparatively high levels of confidence. At the other end of the scale are long-term residents in Round Hill, Savannah-Taunton and Draper, and recent buyers in Sanford-Cedar, Cushing, Draper and Sedgwick.

Considering together the answers to separate questions provides an overall indication of levels of neighborhood confidence. More detailed analysis of answers to individual questions reveals in greater depth the meaning of different factors that contribute to confidence in one's area. The sections following discuss the data produced by the four questions that were most informative about neighborhood confidence.

TABLE 3.5: RANKING OF LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE IN TEN STUDY AREAS

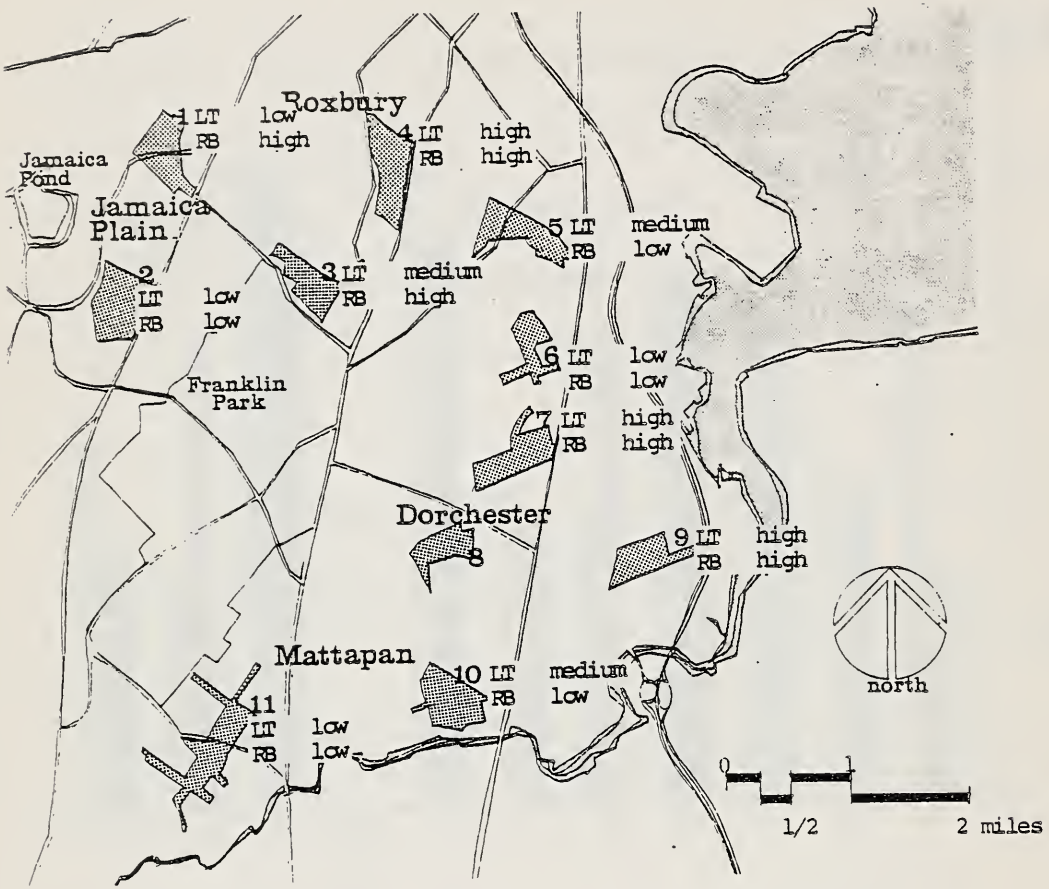
Long-term Residents			Recent Buyers		
Sum of rankings	Study area	Cumulative rank	Sum of rankings	Study area	Cumulative rank
9	Minot	(1)	6	Minot	(1)
12	Melville-Park	(2)	12	Melville-Park	(2)
14	Sav-Mor	(3)	15	Sav-Mor Elm Hill	(3)
18	Cushing Sanford-Cedar	(4)	16	Round Hill	(5)
20	Elm Hill	(6)	25	Savannah-Taunton	(6)
29	Sedgwick	(7)	27	Draper Sedgwick	(7)
31	Draper	(8)	30	Cushing	(9)
32	Savannah-Taunton	(9)	34	Sanford-Cedar	(10)

GRAPH 3.1 : LONG-TERM RESIDENTS' AND RECENT BUYERS' LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE



Explanation: The overall level of neighborhood confidence has been subtracted from 100 so that higher bars would indicate higher confidence.

MAP 3.1 : LONG TERM RESIDENTS' AND RECENT BUYERS' LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE



LT refers to long term residents

RB refers to recent buyers

For recent buyers (RB):
high: 6 - 16 sum of rankings
low: 25 - 34 sum of rankings

For long term residents (LT):
high: 9 - 14 sum of rankings
medium: 18 - 20 sum of rankings
low: 29 - 35 sum of rankings

TABLE 3.6 : LONG-TERM RESIDENTS' AND RECENT BUYERS' LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE, BY STUDY AREA

Study Area Survey question	Long-term residents		Recent buyers	
1. ROUND HILL	%	Rank	%	Rank
Race: White in 1970, slow & limited change				
Physical condition: Fair				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	23	Low (10)	90	High (2)
b. Plan to stay	46	Low (9)	22	Low (10)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	46	Low (6)	90	High (1)
d. Do again/ recommend	27	Low (10)	85	High (3)
Overall confidence level		35 (10th)		16 (5th)
2. SEDGWICK				
Race: White in 1970, no change				
Physical condition: Good				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	46	Low (4)	73	Med. (6)
b. Plan to stay	50	Med. (8)	53	Med. (8)
c. What area will be like in 3 years.	38	Low (8)	69	High (6)
d. Do again/ recommend	50	Med. (7)	69	Med. (7)
Overall Confidence level		29 (7th)		27 (7th)

Study Area

Survey Question	Long-term residents %	Long-term residents Rank	Recent buyers %	Recent buyers Rank
3. ELM HILL				
Race: Black in 1970, no change				
Physical condition: Good				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	40	Low (6)	73	Med. (6)
b. Plan to stay	62	Med.(5)	67	Med. (4)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	69	High(2)	83	High (2)
d. Do again/ recommend	50	Med.(7)	85	High (3)
Overall confidence level		20 (6th)		15 (3rd)
4. SAV MOR				
Race: Black in 1970, no change				
Physical condition: Fair				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	58	Low (3)	89	High (2)
b. Plan to stay	62	Med.(4)	72	High (3)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	72	High(1)	72	High (5)
d. Do again/ recommend	52	Med.(6)	74	Med. (5)
Overall confidence level		14 (3rd)		15 (3rd)

Study Area

Survey question	Long-term residents %	Long-term residents Rank	Recent buyers %	Recent buyers Rank
5. CUSHING				
Race: White in 1970, considerable increase in black and Hispanic residents Physical condition: Fair-good				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	36	Low (8)	55	Low (9)
b. Plan to stay	63	Med. (4)	58	Med.(6)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	59	Med. (3)	50	Med.(7)
d. Do again/ recommend	73	Med. (3)	64	Med.(8)
Overall confidence level		18 (4th)		30 (9th)
6. DRAPER				
Race: White in 1970, considerable increase in black residents Physical condition: Good				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	29	Low (9)	55	Low (9)
b. Plan to stay	53	Med.(7)	75	High(1)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	20	Low (10)	50	Med.(7)
d. Do again/ recommend	53	Med.(5)	58	Med.(10)
Overall confidence level		31 (8th)		27 (7th)

Study Area

Survey question	Long-term residents %	Long-term residents Rank	Recent buyers %	Recent buyers Rank
7. MELVILLE PARK				
Race: White in 1970, some increase in black residents				
Physical condition: Very good				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	44	Low (5)	90	High (2)
b. Plan to stay	73	High (2)	59	Med. (5)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	58	Med. (4)	82	High (3)
d. Do again/ recommend	88	High (1)	89	High (2)
Overall confidence level		12 (2nd)		12 (2nd)
9. MINOT				
Race: White in 1970, no change				
Physical condition: Very good				
a. Property values rose or stayed the same	74	High (1)	94	High (1)
b. Plan to stay	78	High (1)	75	High (1)
c. What area will be like in 3 years	57	Med. (5)	82	High (3)
d. Do again/ recommend	87	High (2)	90	High (1)
Overall confidence		9 (1st)		6 (1st)

Study Area

	Survey question	Long-term residents %	Rank	Recent buyers %	Rank
10.	SANFORD-CEDAR				
	Race: White in 1970, some increase in black residents				
	Physical condition: Good				
	a. Property values rose or stayed the same	67	Med. (2)	63	Med. (8)
	b. Plan to stay	63	Med. (4)	56	Med. (7)
	c. What area will be like in 3 years	38	Low (8)	44	Low (10)
	d. Do again/ recommend	63	Med. (4)	61	Med. (9)
	Overall confidence level	18	(4th)	34	(10th)
11.	SAVANNAH-TAUNTON				
	Race: White in 1970, large increase in black residents—all recent buyers are black				
	Physical condition: Very good				
	a. Property values rose or stayed the same	40	Low (6)	86	High (5)
	b. Plan to stay	36	Low (10)	31	Low (9)
	c. What area will be like in 3 years	41	Low (7)	50	Med. (7)
	d. Do again/ recommend	29	Low (9)	80	High (4)
	Overall confidence level	32	(9th)	25	(6th)

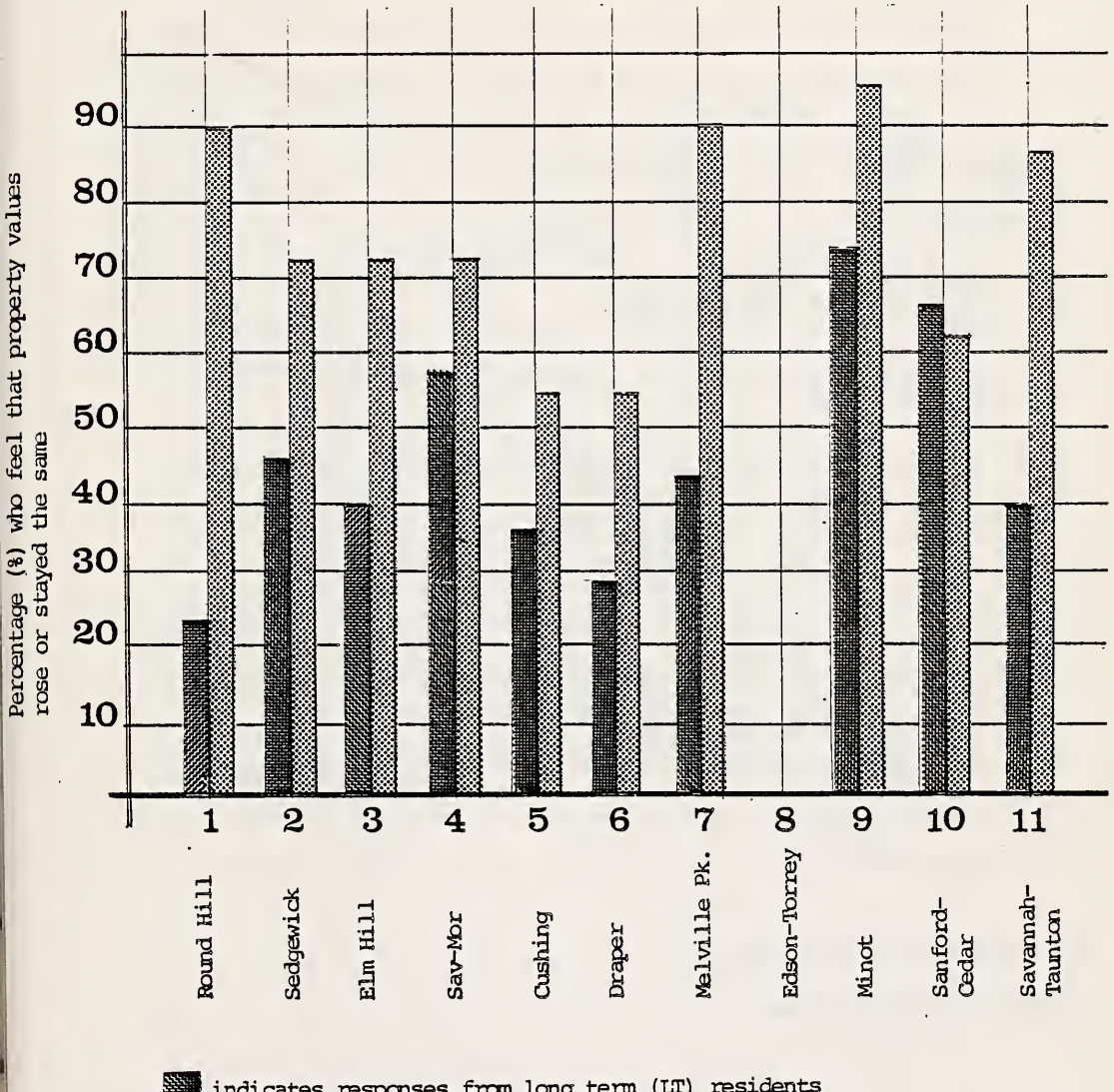
1. Have property values risen, stayed the same or fallen?
Long-term residents and recent buyers disagree sharply in their perceptions of the direction of movement of property values in their neighborhoods. Taking all of the study areas together, over 50% of the long-term residents - as opposed to only 18% of the recent buyers - believe that values have fallen in recent years. Only 20% of the long-term residents' responses,compared to 35% of recent buyers', indicate rising property values and 45% of recent buyers feel values are stable (Table 3.4).

Those neighborhoods with the greatest differences between long-term residents and recent buyers in perceived direction of property values are Round Hill, Elm Hill and Cushing. The neighborhoods of Draper, Melville-Park, Edson-Torrey and Savannah-Taunton also showed similar discrepancies between residents' perceptions of property values depending upon whether the respondent was a long-term resident or a recent buyer.

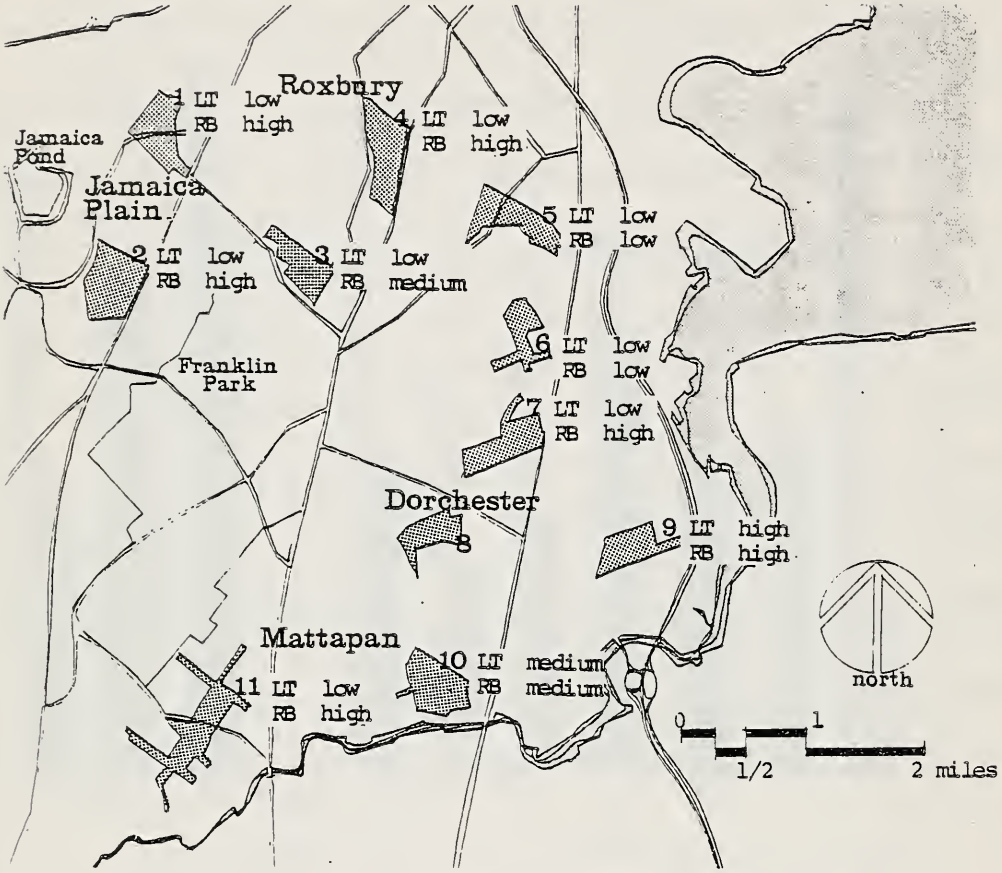
Three neighborhoods showed a marked tendency to view property values as remaining stable, rather than increasing or decreasing. In Sav-Mor 33% of the respondents said property values had risen and 33% said that the values had remained stable; in Minot 48% of the respondents mentioned that property values had remained the same; and in Sanford-Cedar residents overwhelmingly (54%) said that property values were stable.

There is also a difference in perceptions of changes in property values among racial groups. Black respondents

GRAPH 3.2 : PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES



MAP 3.2 : PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES



LT refers to long term residents

RB refers to recent buyers

perceived property values to be rising at a slightly higher rate (37%) than did white residents (23%). About 30% of both whites and Blacks perceived that values had remained the same. A higher proportion of whites (40%) than Blacks (29%) perceive that values have fallen. These differences may be a consequence of racial transition, so that when the proportion of Blacks in an area increases whites think of that change in population as a signal that values have decreased, or will do so shortly. For the Blacks in our sample, however, most of whom are recent buyers, there is a recent experience and familiarity with values in the real estate market, and a knowledge of present rates of inflation.

Inflation has changed the value of money itself in the past five years, and our question on property values does not directly address this issue. In absolute terms, if the dollar value of property has not kept pace with inflation, the relative value has decreased even if the absolute value has remained the same. We were, however, interested in residents' perceptions of the direction of movement of property values as an indication of confidence, and assumed that inflation is a part of their consciousness in assessing housing market values. Long-term and new residents may in fact differ in their perceptions of inflation and in their expectations for appreciation of housing values.

2. Anticipate moving?

A majority (59%) of both long-term residents and recent buyers say that they do not anticipate moving from their present

residence, though this varies among the neighborhoods.* In two areas - Round Hill and Savannah-Taunton - a majority of recent buyers say that they do plan to move. The long-term residents in both these areas are split as to whether they plan to move (Table 3.1).

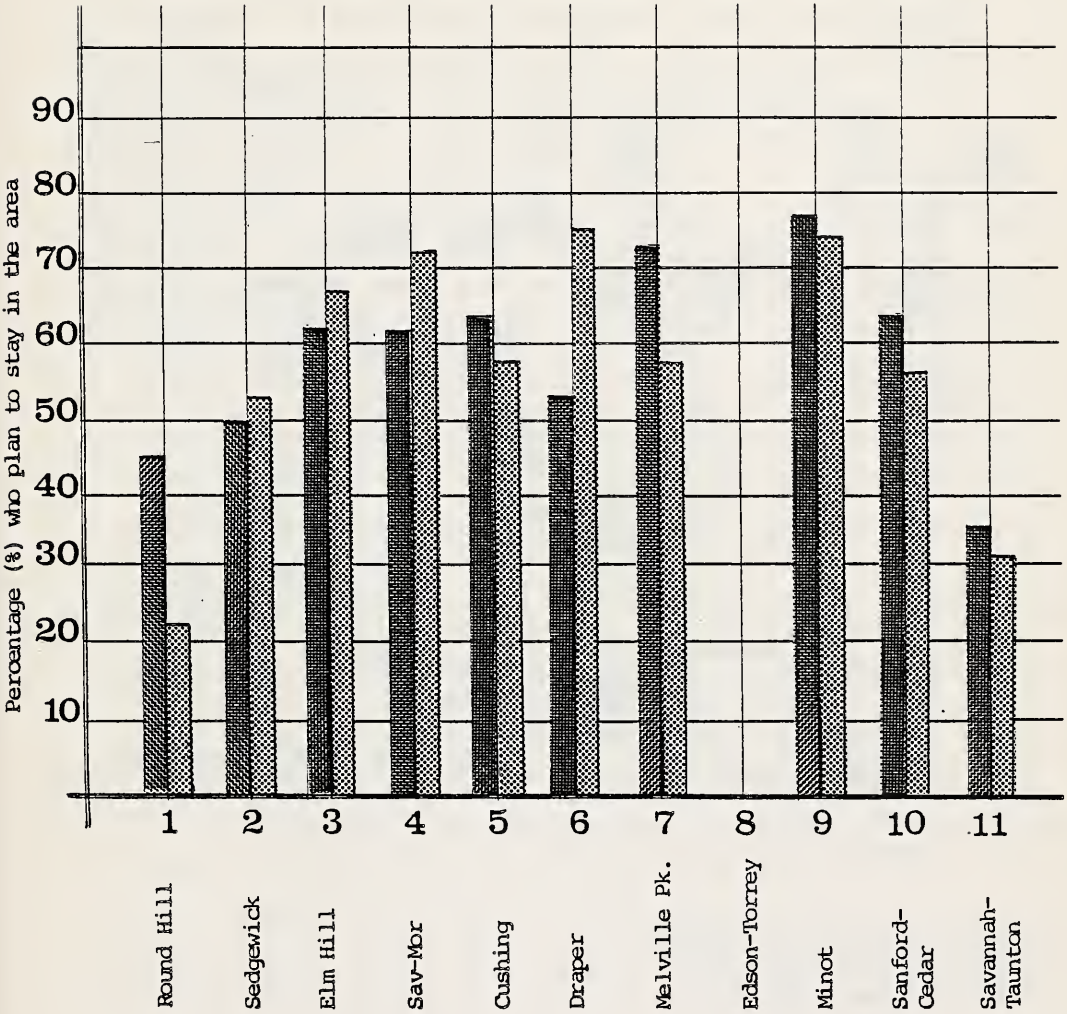
Among recent buyers, neighborhoods with the highest proportion of people who do not plan to move are Sav-Mor (72%), Draper (75%) and Minot (75%). Among long-term residents, neighborhoods with the highest proportion of people who do not anticipate moving are Melville-Park (74%), Minot (78%), Elm Hill and Cushing (63% each).

Nearly 40% of all reasons to anticipate moving among long-termers and recent buyers are personal or "other" reasons, but among recent buyers Boston-specific reasons are most important (32% of reasons given), whereas among long-term residents neighborhood-specific reasons are most important (26%).

In some cases, recent buyers may be expressing a lack of commitment to Boston itself. For some, the first home is purchased in the city and when they accrue enough equity

*The extent to which residents plan to stay in their present neighborhood is probably the weakest piece in the composite index of confidence. Although it seems to be an important dimension of variation among long-term residents, the likelihood of moving among recent buyers reveals different things about persons of varying mobility. A high proportion of persons planning to stay in one neighborhood may reflect the fact that they are stuck and feel resigned to their present location. A low rate of recent buyers planning to stay in another area may say less about their level of confidence than about the fact that they expect to move up in the world and to buy elsewhere when their income increases.

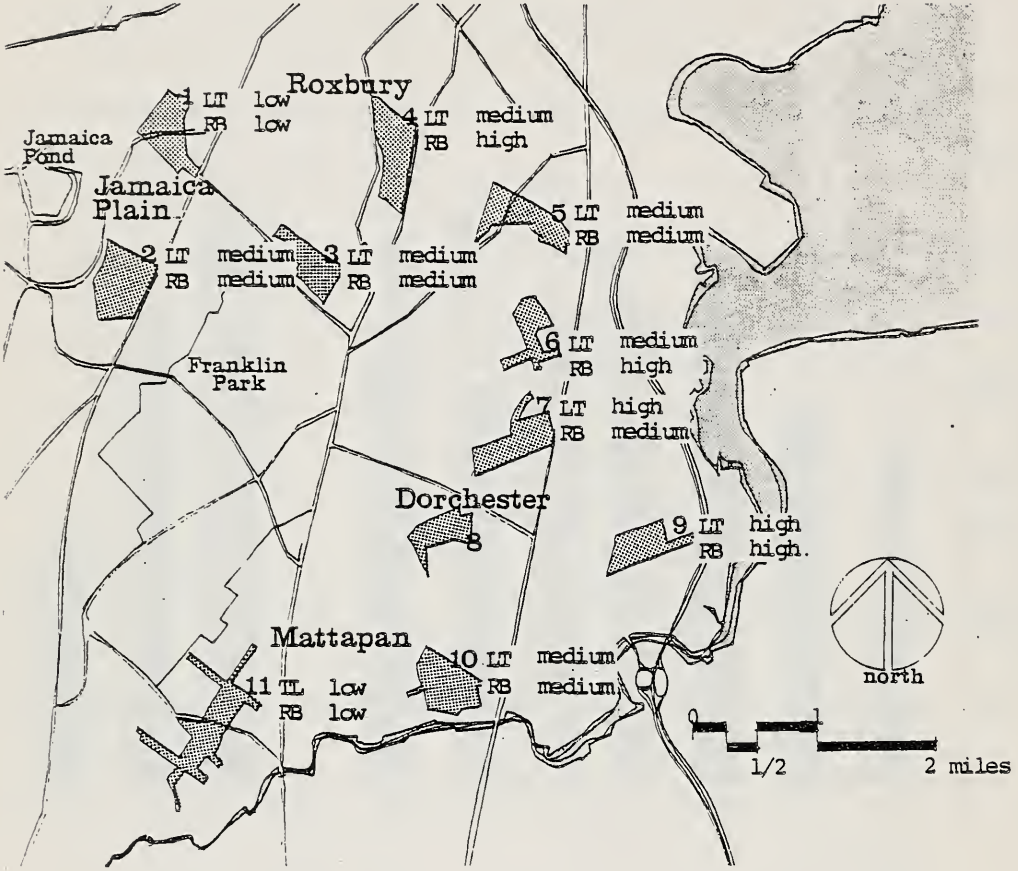
GRAPH 3.3 : EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS PLAN TO STAY



indicates responses from long term (LT) residents

indicates responses from recent buyers (RB)

MAP 3.3 : EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS PLAN TO STAY



LT refers to long term residents

RB refers to recent buyers

they contemplate moving to the suburbs. For older, long-term residents the commitment to living in Boston was made long ago, and they would leave their particular neighborhood if necessary, but would not leave Boston.

3. What will neighborhoods be like?

Long-term residents are more pessimistic in their predictions about what their neighborhoods will be like in the future. When asked what they think their neighborhood will be like in three years, only 17% of all long-term responses expect positive changes. But when combined with those who think the neighborhood will be stable (35%), the proportions of those anticipating positive changes or stability rises to 51% (Table 3.3).

There is great variation among neighborhoods on this question. In three areas (Draper, Minot and Sanford-Cedar), not one long-term resident thinks there will be any positive change in the next three years. In Draper and Sedgwick over 53% of long-term residents think that things will be worse, and in Sanford-Cedar the proportion is 44%. In Minot, however, 56% think that the neighborhood will be the same or stable, as do a similar proportion (53%) in Cushing. The greatest uncertainty is shown in Round Hill, Cushing, Edson-Torrey and Minot where about one-third of all responses indicate an unwillingness to state a prediction for the future.

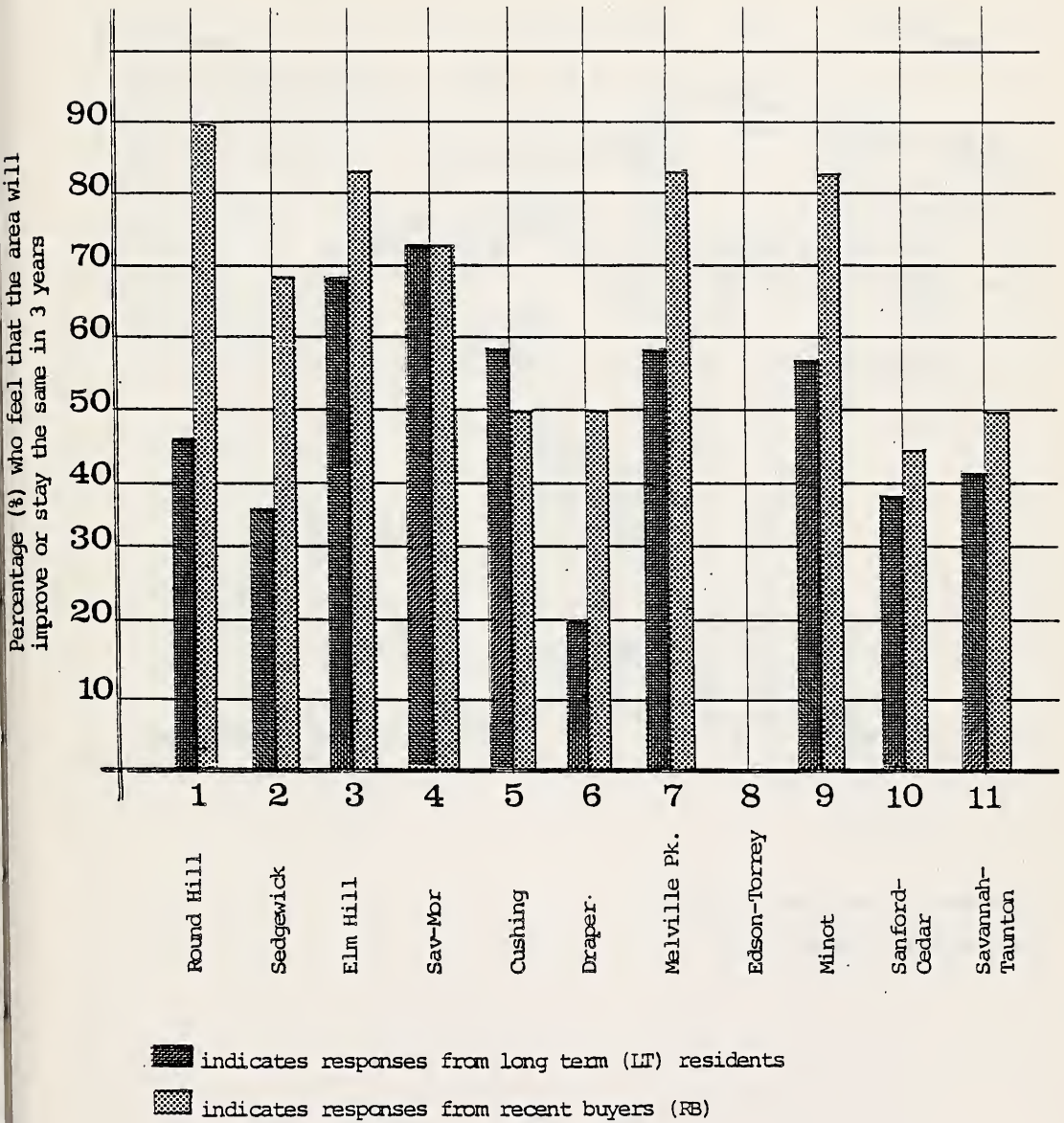
Recent buyers are considerably more optimistic about the future of their neighborhoods than are long-term residents.

Overall, 28% think things will be better, 40% think things will be the same or stable, and only 11% think their neighborhood will be worse. Again, in Sanford-Cedar not one recent buyer thinks the neighborhood will change in a more positive direction and the remaining responses in that neighborhood are divided evenly between those who think it will be the same and those who do not know.

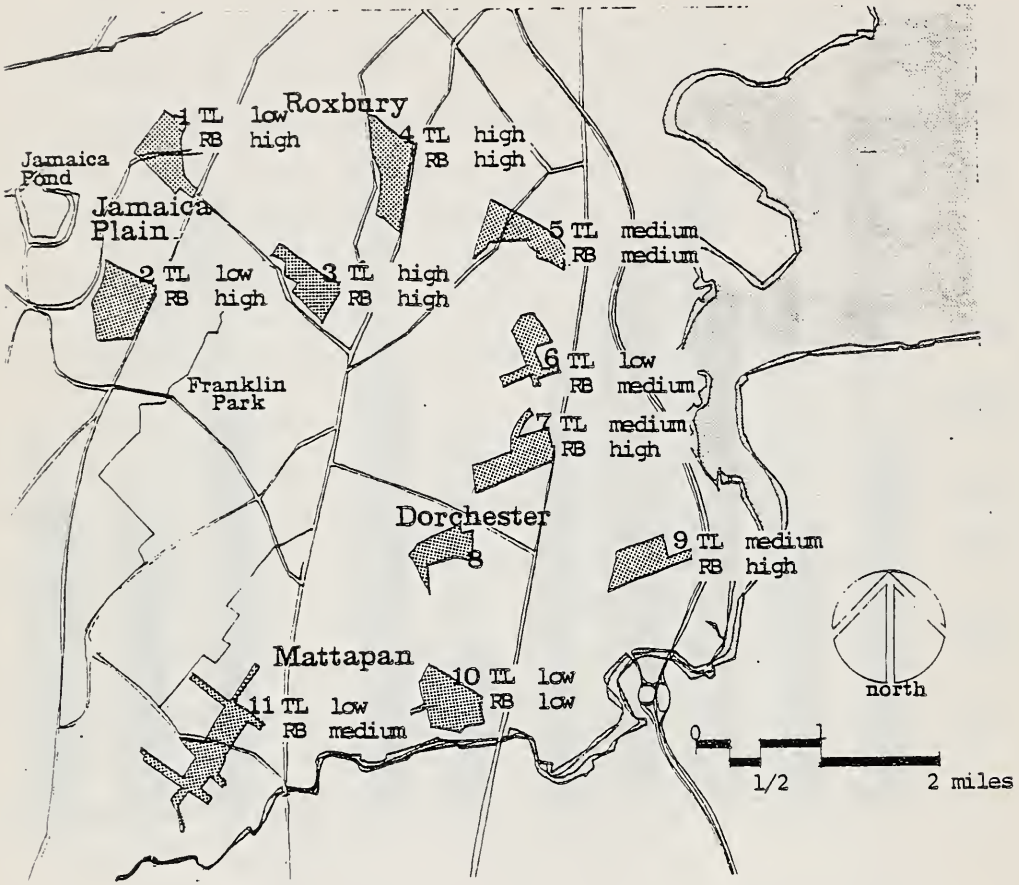
The highest proportion of positive predictions of the neighborhoods' future by recent buyers are found in Round Hill (50%), Elm Hill(50%) and Edson-Torrey (60%). This could indicate either an expectation of definite improvement, or a feeling that "it can't get any worse, so it's got to get better." The neighborhoods where recent buyers most expect stability are Sav-Mor (44%), Melville-Park (55%) and Minot (75%). Stability is least expected in Cushing (8%). The neighborhood with the greatest expectation of negative change in the next three years is Savannah-Taunton (31%) although an equal percentage of residents there expect positive changes and 19% expect stability.

There may be a variety of reasons for expressing a positive or negative change. There may be a feeling that the area is so bad that any change at all must be for the better, or there may indeed be a feeling that an area is on the way up. A negative change may indicate either an expectation or a fear, and for some <u>any</u> change from the status quo is negative.

GRAPH 3.4 : WHAT RESIDENTS THINK THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS WILL BE LIKE IN THREE YEARS



MAP 3.4 : WHAT RESIDENTS THINK THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS WILL BE LIKE IN THREE YEARS



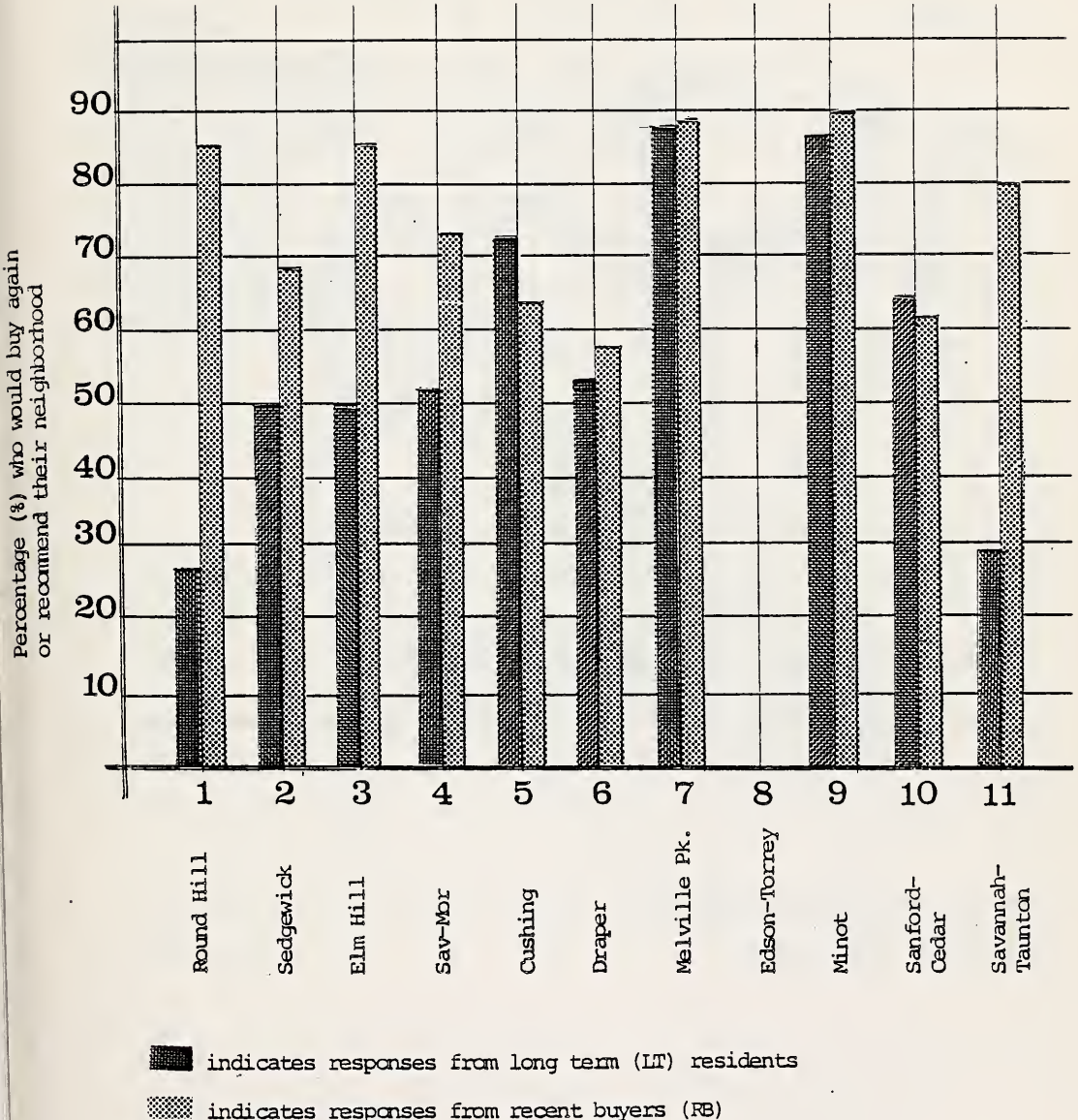
LT refers to long term residents

RB refers to recent buyers

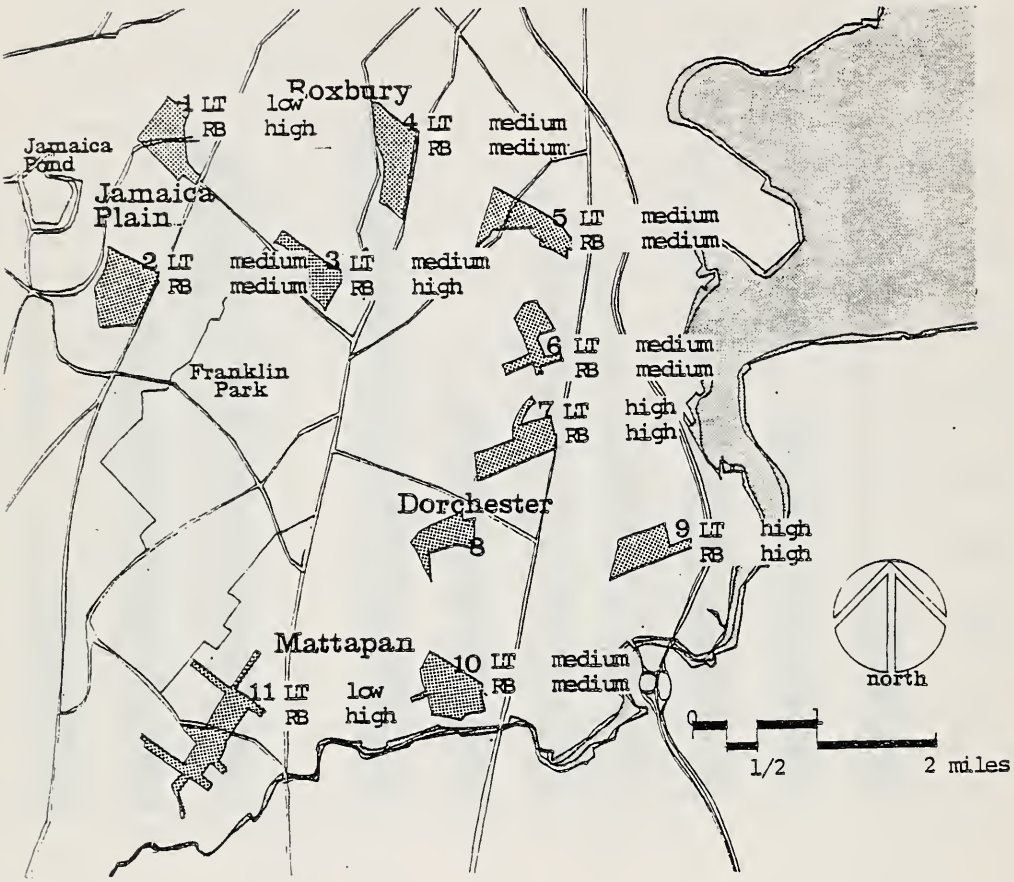
4. Would you do it again/recommend neighborhood to children?

Two questions were asked to determine if residents thought their neighborhood was worth moving into at the time of the survey. We asked recent buyers if they would do it all over again, and long-term residents if they would recommend their neighborhood to their children. Once again, recent buyers were much more positive than long-term residents: 76% of recent buyers say they would do it all over again; 57% of long-term residents would recommend their neighborhood to their children or to other young people (Tables 3.7, 3.8).

GRAPH 3.5 : EXTENT TO WHICH RECENT BUYERS WOULD BUY AGAIN (AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS WOULD RECOMMEND THE NEIGHBORHOOD TO THEIR CHILDREN)



MAP 3.5 : EXTENT TO WHICH RECENT BUYERS WOULD BUY AGAIN (AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS WOULD RECOMMEND THE NEIGHBORHOOD TO THEIR CHILDREN)



LT refers to long term residents

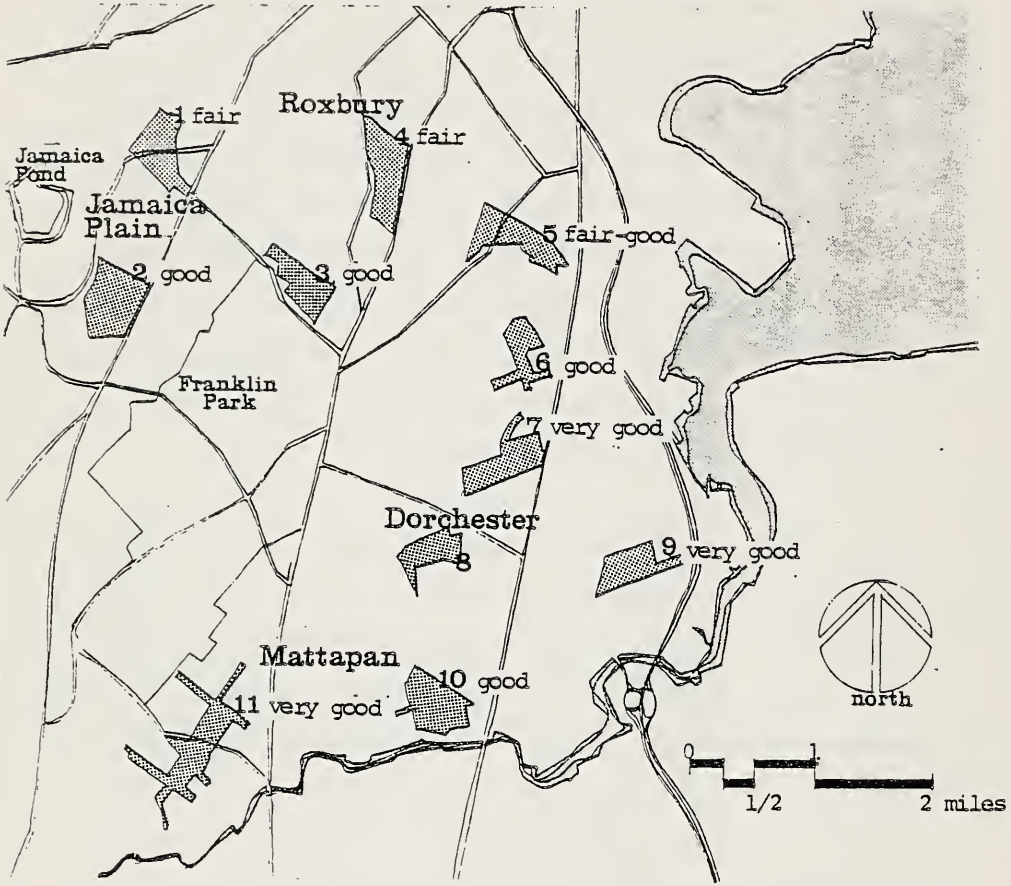
RB refers to recent buyers

Physical condition and neighborhood confidence

Common wisdom would have it that those areas that are most physically deteriorated are also those with the lowest resident confidence and greatest resident dissatisfaction. As the tables below indicate, in the ten districts of Boston that we studied there is not a clear causal relationship between physical condition of an area and the level of residents' confidence. The two most confident sets of recent buyers live in areas of very good physical condition, but the next two highest areas in confidence are only fair in their physical condition.

To study relationships between physical condition and neighborhood confidence, we rated study areas as being in either fair, good or very good physical condition. We placed study areas in these categories on the basis of the following criteria: (1) interviewers' assessments of the exterior condition of houses and of the overall physical environment in each area; (2) 1970 U.S. Census statistics on the physical condition of housing; and (3) Boston Redevelopment Authority planning district statistical profiles.

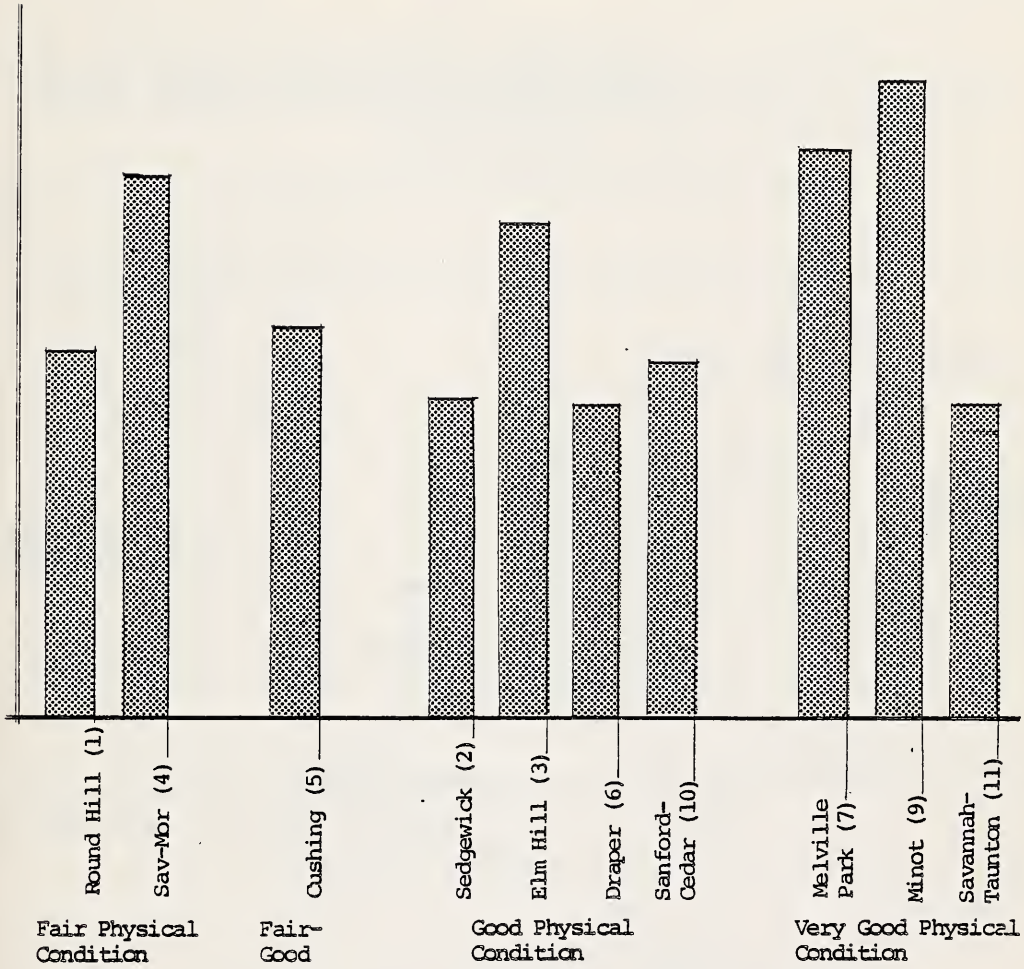
MAP 3.6 : PHYSICAL CONDITION OF STUDY AREAS



LT refers to long term residents

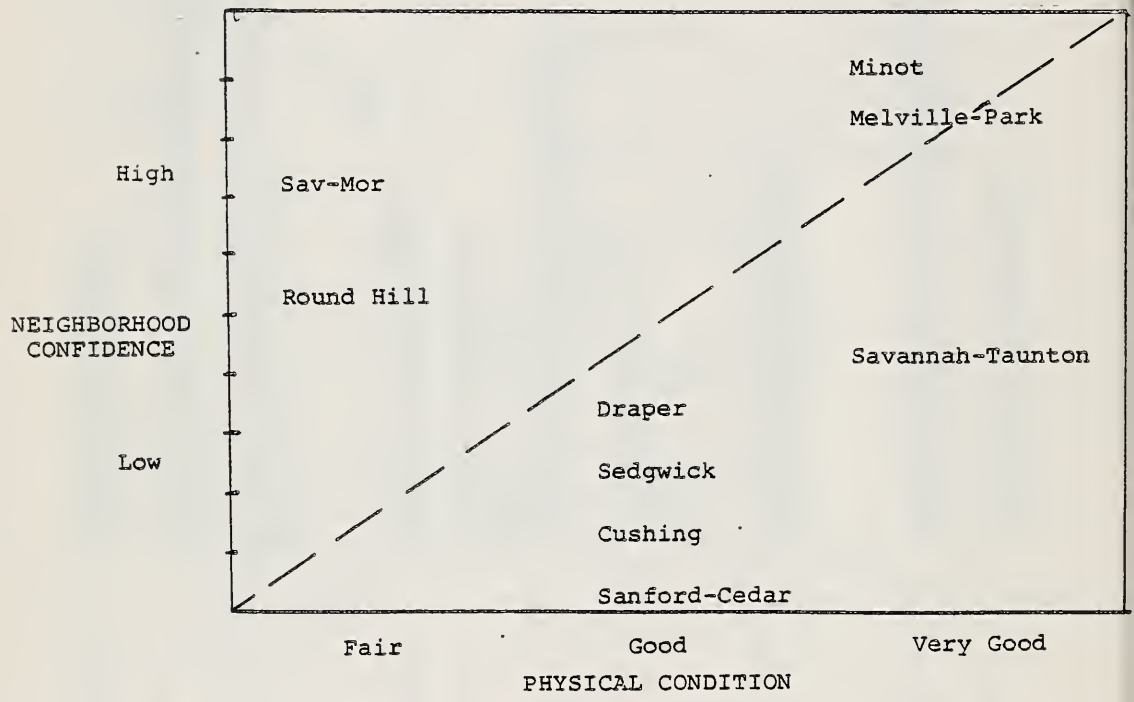
RB refers to recent buyers

GRAPH 3.6 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL CONDITION AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE (RECENT BUYERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS COMBINED)



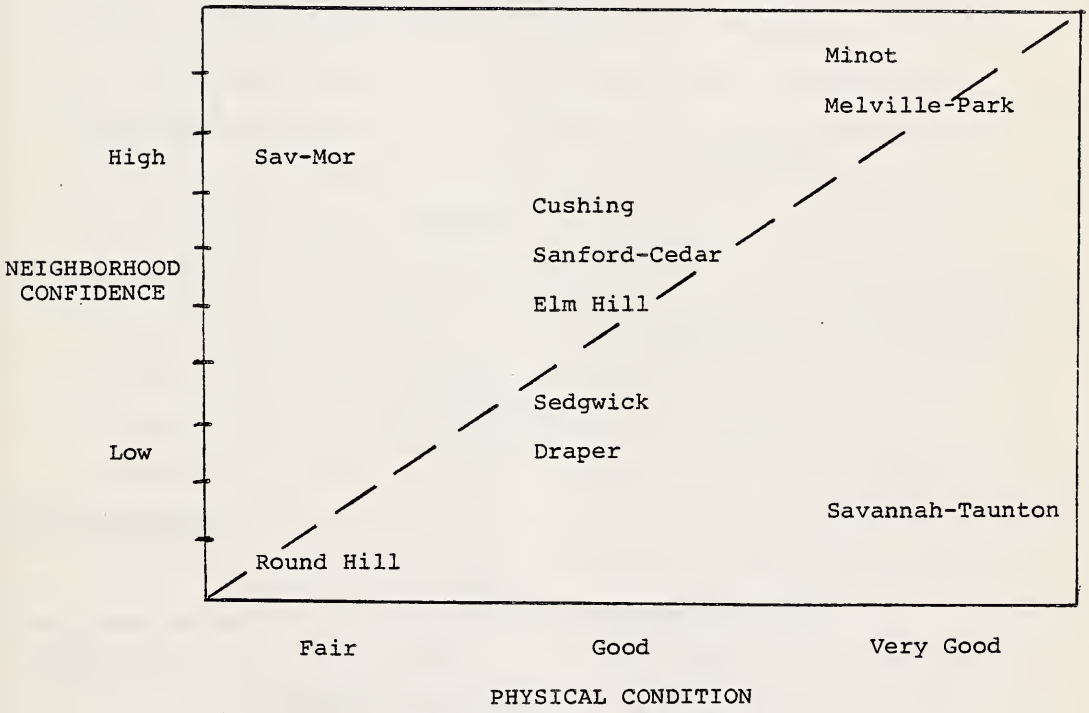
Explanation: While the bars indicate exact levels of neighborhood confidence according to our composite index, the vertical axis is deliberately not scaled so as to de-emphasize the numerical levels of confidence. The general magnitude of confidence is more significant than the exact numbers for each neighborhood.

GRAPH 3.7 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL CONDITION AND LEVEL OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE: RECENT BUYERS

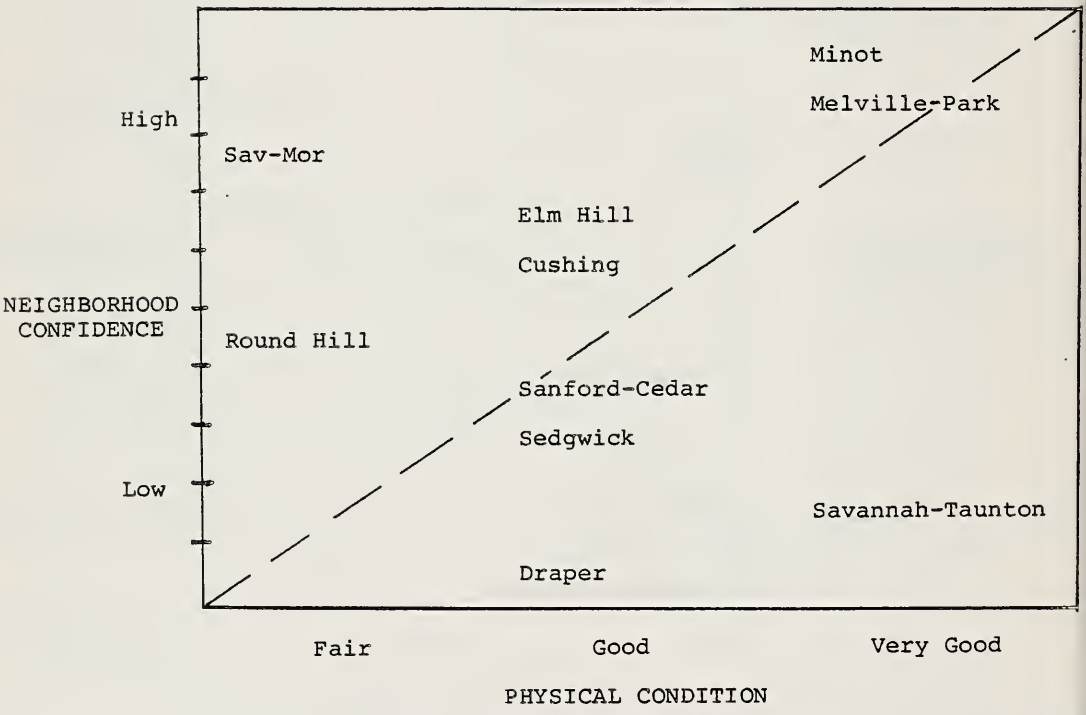


Graph 3.7 graphs the relationship between the physical condition of a neighborhood and the level of neighborhood confidence. The vertical axis is scaled comparatively in ascending rank or level of confidence. The horizontal axis, divided into categories of fair, good and very good, represents the physical condition of the neighborhood. The dotted line represents the estimated correlation between the two factors; that is, if physical condition and neighborhood confidence were positively associated, the study areas would cluster around the line.

GRAPH 3.8 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL CONDITION AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE: LONG-TERM RESIDENTS



GRAPH 3.9 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICAL CONDITION AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE (RECENT BUYERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS COMBINED)



Do differences in racial stability explain variations in neighborhood confidence?

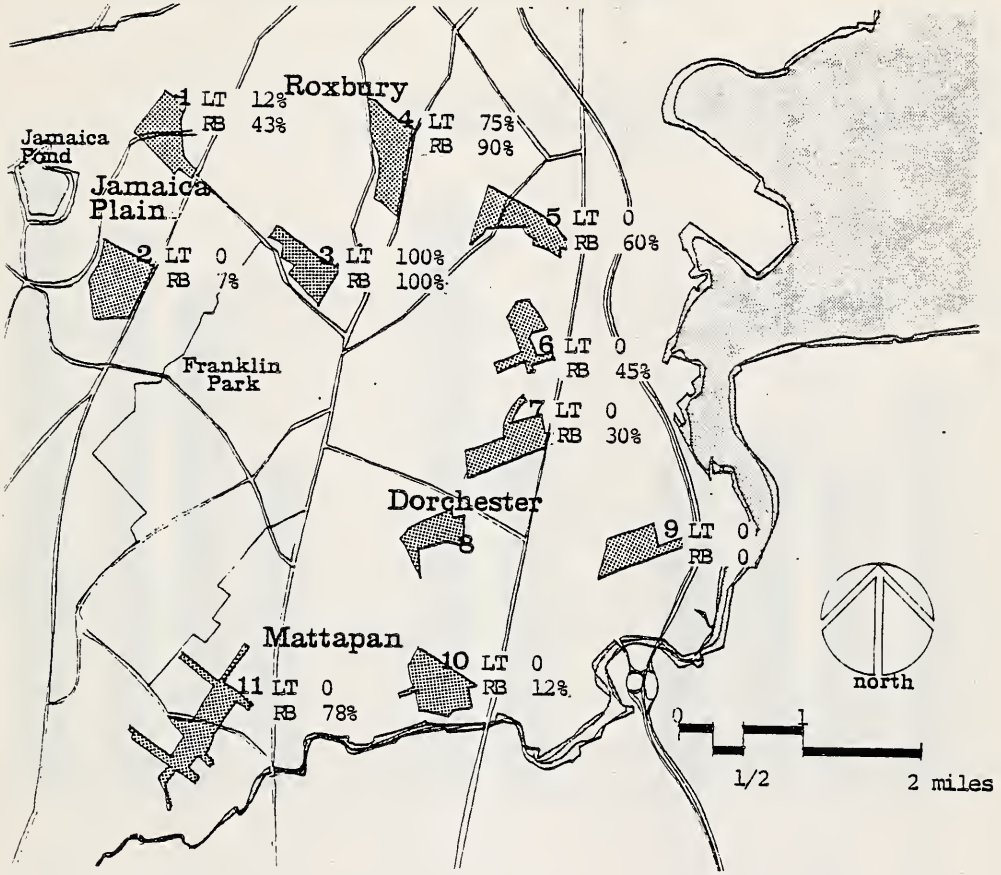
An almost universal conviction with respect to neighborhood change is that high rates of racial change in an area result in low resident confidence and high resident dissatisfaction. We found some, but hardly conclusive, evidence to support this notion. As the tables that follow indicate, for recent buyers high racial stability is associated with high confidence and low racial stability with low confidence.

One would expect this hypothesized relationship to hold most strongly for long-term residents in areas where lacks are moving in and whites leaving, but our results do not fully support this contention. One-half of areas where long-term residents show higher confidence are areas of high racial stability, but we found one area of high racial stability and low confidence, and one with low stability and high confidence. High confidence is expressed by white long-term residents in three areas of low to medium rates of racial stability. One explanation of this pattern is that whites who are bothered by an increase in the proportion of Blacks have already left, and that those who remain are either happy with integration, resigned to it or are otherwise rationalizing their situation. Without being sure why, we found race to be a less potent factor than previous research has suggested.

We classified study areas as being of either low, medium or high racial stability by comparing the racial composition according to the 1970 U.S. Census with the racial composition

of recent buyers - owner-occupants who bought homes in the areas during the period from 1973 to 1977. Areas of low racial stability are ones in which the population was entirely of one race in 1970, and in which recent buyers are almost entirely of another race. High stability indicates no change in racial composition. Medium stability means that the proportion of recent buyers who are of a different race than the majority composition in 1970 changed some, but not completely, in the interim.

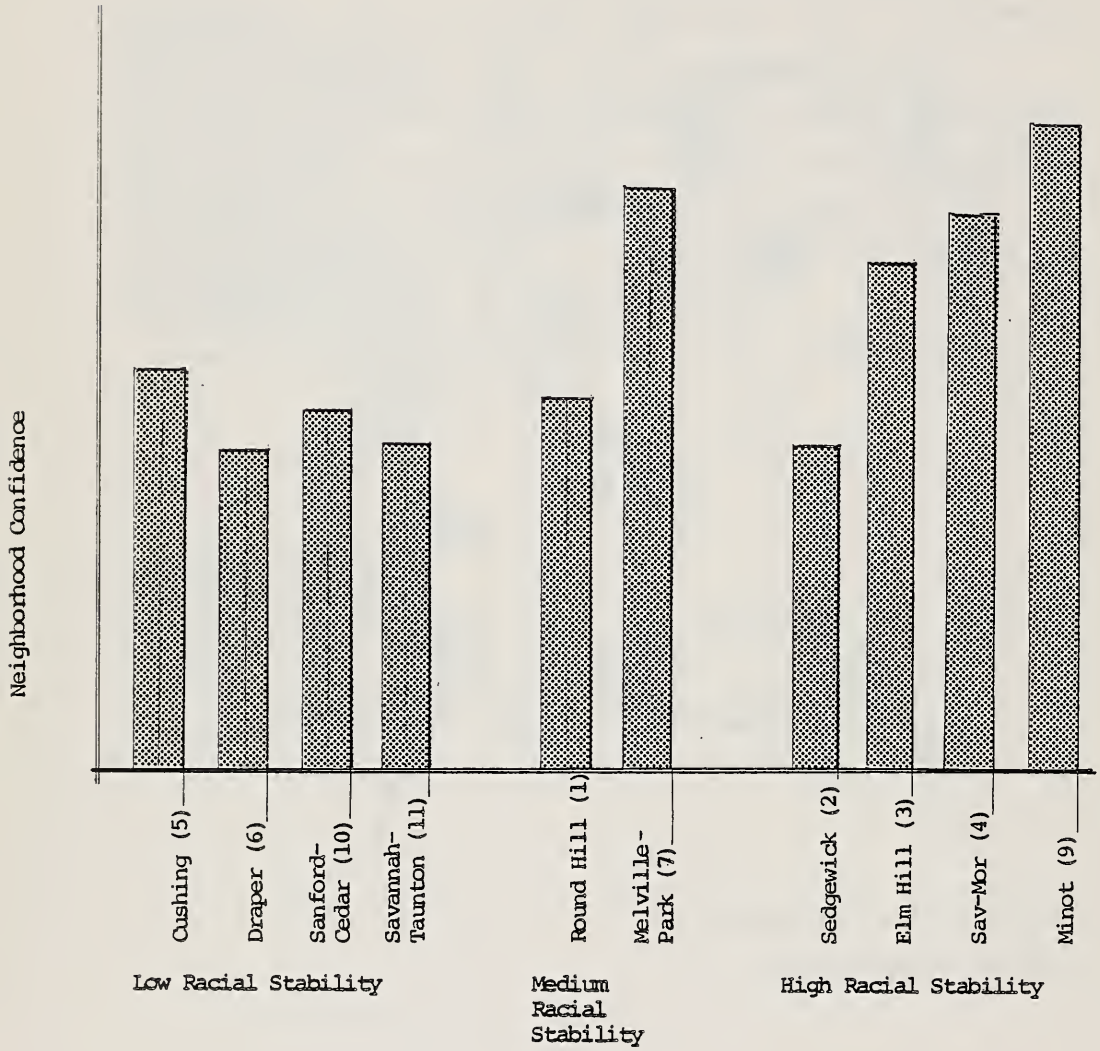
MAP 3.7 : PERCENTAGE OF BLACK AND HISPANIC RESIDENTS



LT refers to long term residents

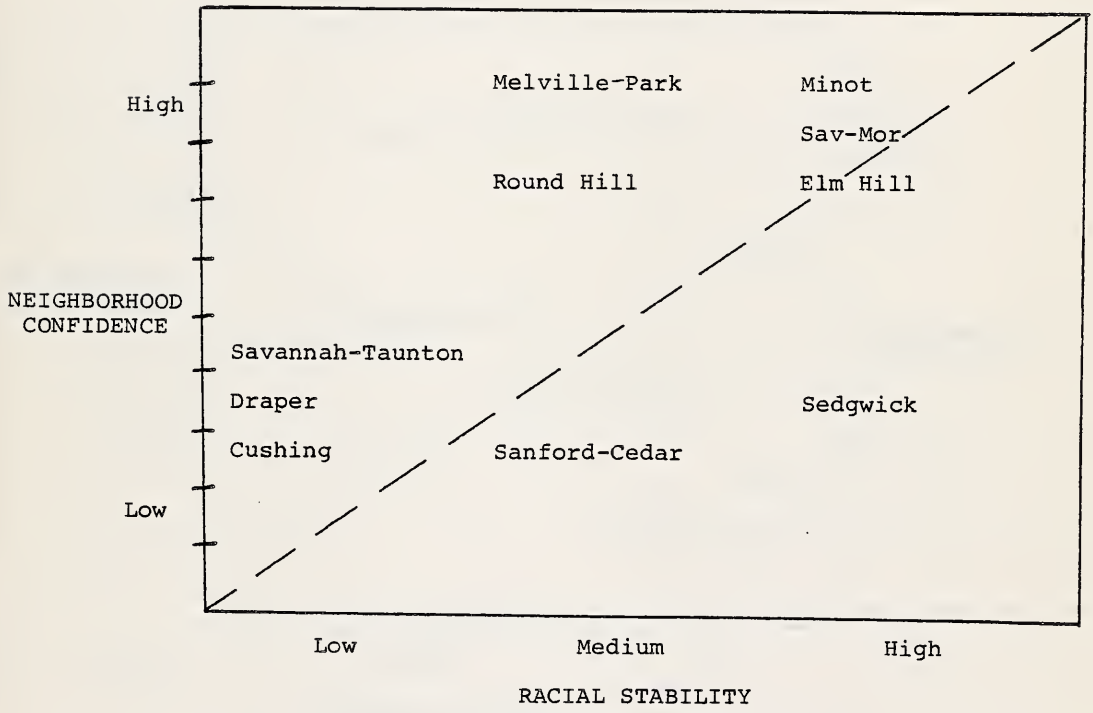
RB refers to recent buyers

GRAPH 3.10 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL STABILITY AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE (RECENT BUYERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS COMBINED)

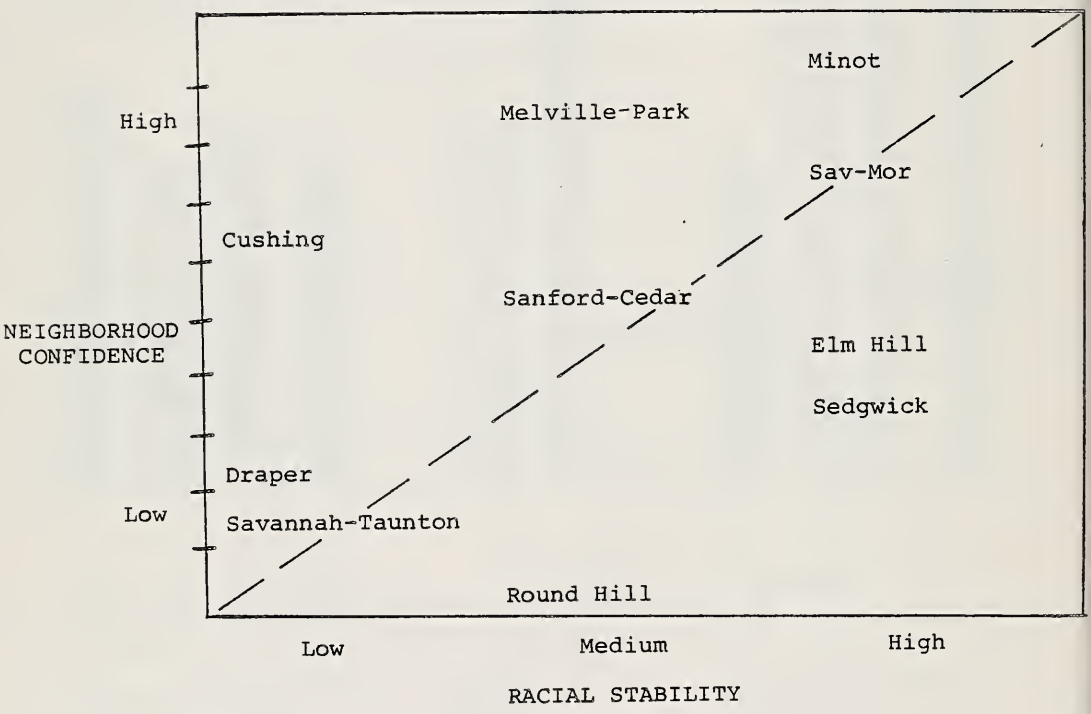


Explanation: While the bars indicate exact levels of neighborhood confidence according to our composite index, the vertical axis is deliberately not scaled so as to de-emphasize the numerical levels of confidence. The general magnitude of confidence is more significant than the exact numbers for each neighborhood.

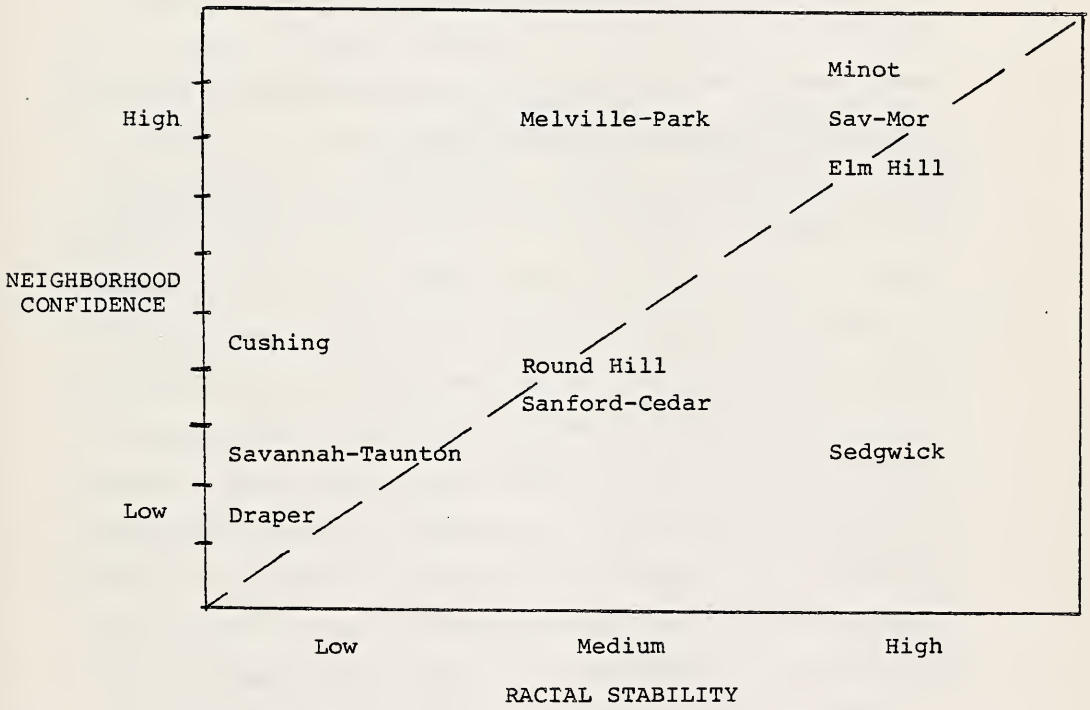
GRAPH 3.11 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL STABILITY AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE: RECENT BUYERS



GRAPH 3.12 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL STABILITY AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE: LONG-TERM RESIDENTS



GRAPH 3.13 : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL STABILITY AND LEVELS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE (RECENT BUYERS AND LONG-TERM RESIDENTS COMBINED)



Age and neighborhood confidence

A possible explanation of differences in confidence among the study areas and between long-term residents and recent buyers could be the ages of the residents. We found that differences in the ages of residents did not explain our results. (See Table 3.9 below, also Table 3.10)

Other research has found that older people are more pessimistic about their neighborhoods than are younger people, so we examined the levels of confidence in our study areas in light of the proportion of residents, both long-term and recent buyers, over the age of 65. An unusually high proportion (higher than the national average) of recent buyers in our study areas were over 65 years of age. This was particularly true in Round Hill, Cushing and Sanford-Cedar, where more than half of the respondents were over 65. Even though these areas ranked fairly low in confidence (fifth, ninth and tenth respectively), other areas with low confidence had much lower proportions of recent buyers over the age of 65. Draper and Sedgwick, for example, were both ranked seventh of our ten neighborhoods in confidence, yet had 17% and 6% respectively of recent buyers over 65.

Among long-term residents, only in Minot were more than half of all respondents senior citizens, and Minot was ranked number one in confidence. The other areas showed relatively little variation in the proportion of elderly citizens among respondents, ranging from 28 to 42%, yet there was a great deal of variation in confidence (see Table 3.13). We there-

fore find no evidence that age is significantly correlated with confidence, and have sought to explain confidence in terms of other variables.

TABLE 3.9 : AGE OF RESPONDENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE

Study area	% of Respondents over age 65		Neighborhood Confidence Rank	
	Long-term residents	Recent buyers	Long-term residents	Recent buyers
Round Hill	31%	60%	10th	10th
Sedgwick	28	6	7	6
Elm Hill	31	38	6	3
Sav-Mor	32	35	3	3
Cushing	41	54	4	9
Draper	40	17	3	7
Melville-Park	42	9	2	2
Minot	57	20	1	1
Sanford-Cedar	39	22	4	10
Savannah-Taunton	30	50	9	6
TOTAL	38	28		

Owner-occupancy: a clear relationship with neighborhood confidence

Because the Neighborhood Confidence Project sought to encourage owner-occupancy, we examined rates of owner-occupancy to see if any relationship existed between confidence and the percentage of owners who were in residence.

We found that two figures were particularly important: the percentage of owners who were owner-occupants; and the change in the rate of owner-occupancy, discovered by looking at the proportion of sellers and buyers in 1976/77 who were owner-occupants (See Table 3.11 below).

We found that our areas of highest confidence (Table 3.13) - Minot and Melville-Park - had the highest proportion of owner-occupants among recent buyers of all ten study areas (79% and 85% respectively), and in both areas a greater proportion of buyers than sellers were owner-occupants. In Sav-Mor, our third most confident area, the proportion of owner-occupants nearly doubled, going from 27% to 48%. In the other Roxbury neighborhood of Elm Hill, which also has relatively high confidence, the proportion of home ownership also increased substantially, from 26% to 43%.

The proportion of owner-occupants increased in Sanford-Cedar, Cushing and Sedgwick, but much less dramatically than in the above neighborhoods. These are all areas of medium to very low confidence. The proportion of owner-occupants decreased in Draper, Edson-Torrey and Savannah-Taunton, also areas of medium to low confidence. In Round Hill the proportion remained unchanged.

TABLE 3.11 : OWNER-OCCUPANCY AND NEIGHBORHOOD CONFIDENCE

Study area	Owner-occupancy among		Neighborhood confidence rank	
	Sellers	Recent buyers	Long-term residents	Recent buyers
Round Hill	46%	46%	10th	10th
Sedgwick	50	58	7	6
Elm Hill	26	43	6	3
Sav-Mor	27	48	3	3
Cushing	29	38	4	9
Draper	50	41	8	7
Melville-Park	70	85	2	2
Minot	67	79	1	1
Sanford-Cedar	71	77	4	10
Savannah-Taunton	80	69	9	6

It seems that a high or an increasing proportion of owner-occupants in an area is related to high neighborhood confidence, but it is important not to confuse cause and effect. It is unclear whether owner-occupancy increases confidence, or whether confident areas attract buyers who will also live there. It is apparent that people in the study areas with a higher or an increasing proportion of owner-occupants are very confident. This is substantiated by information gathered in the in-depth interviews (see Chapter IV). When residents see an increase in the proportion of owners living in their property confidence increases.

Summary

This chapter presented a composite index of neighborhood confidence based on residents' answers to four basic questions. Areas that are within a few blocks of one another show markedly different levels of confidence. Recent buyers are consistently more optimistic than long-term residents, a contrast that cannot be explained by reference to respondents' ages. Rates of owner-occupancy are closely tied to levels of confidence, while variations in physical condition are not. Differences in racial stability provide a partial explanation for patterns of confidence in some neighborhoods.

IV. ILLUSTRATIVE NEIGHBORHOODS

Five of the 11 original neighborhoods were selected to represent major dimensions of variation in levels of confidence, population composition and stability, type of housing, and overall quality of physical environment. This chapter presents an analysis of our observations about these neighborhoods.

The five neighborhoods illustrate major trends and patterns that we found in the larger set of study areas. These include the lack of a causal connection between physical confidence and neighborhood confidence, and a shaky link between levels of racial stability and neighborhood confidence. The differences among these neighborhoods with respect to residents' perceptions and attitudes are striking. Three of them that are quite disimilar in many ways - Draper, Melville-Park and Minot - are located within the larger neighborhood of Dorchester, a section often characterized as a single neighborhood. All of the neighborhoods are located within larger districts of Boston that have been described as deteriorating and in trouble, yet according to our survey they include neighborhoods of considerable health where residents are satisfied with the present and confident about the future. Each of the neighborhoods studied is a unique blend of strength and problems.

The descriptions that follow organize people's responses to the survey questions according to individual neighborhoods,

comparing the attitudes of long-term residents and recent buyers within each and comparing the neighborhoods as a whole. In four of the five neighborhoods, we conducted in-depth personal interviews with long-term and new residents to supplement and deepen the results of the telephone survey. The illustrative neighborhoods described in the following sections include two areas of homogeneous population composition - one white and one Black - and of complete population stability. Confidence in both of these areas is high, even though one of them is in only fair physical condition. One of the areas has experienced very rapid racial change. In the other two, increasing proportions of the recent buyers are Black or other racial minorities.

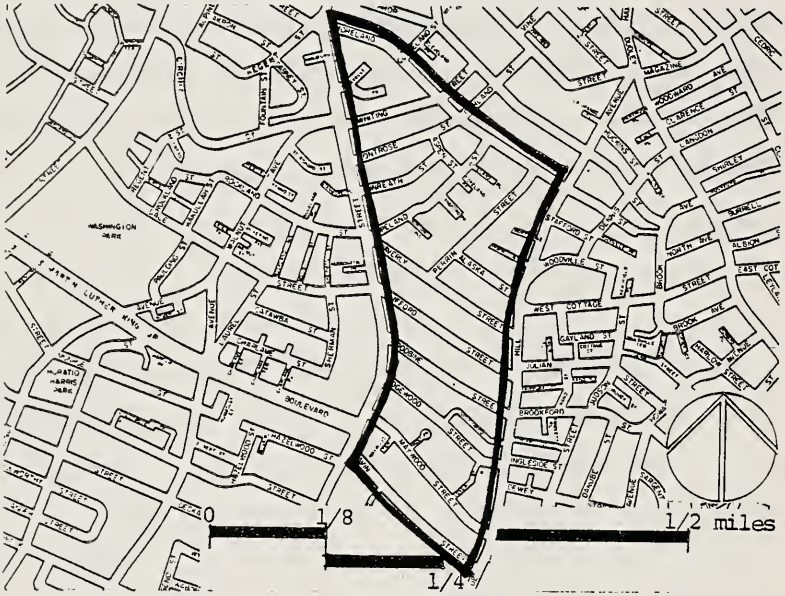
The occupational and educational status of the areas varies greatly. The level of educational attainment of recent buyers is high in two neighborhoods, medium in another and low in the fifth (Table A3.7 : Education Level of Respondents). Educational levels have increased since 1970 in three of the areas and decreased in two of them. The occupational profiles parallel the pattern for education.

The Sav-Mor neighborhood is a very stable, almost solidly Black area of high home ownership and considerable physical deterioration, but relatively high confidence. Draper is a neighborhood of triple-deckers that has experienced significant racial transition. Confidence is low. Melville-Park is a "revitalizing" or "gentrifying" neighborhood of high confidence on the part of both long-term and recent residents. A large number of "young professionals,"

some of them Black, have bought there and have built an active neighborhood association. The Minot district is an all-white, very stable area that shows the highest confidence of all the areas we studied. Residents want no physical or social change and have a strong neighborhood association that is effectively encouraging present inhabitants to stay. Savannah-Taunton is in rapid racial transition. It remains in very good physical condition, but neighborhood confidence is relatively low among long-term residents, somewhat higher among newcomers.

SAV-MOR

A very stable, almost entirely Black community with a high rate of home ownership. The neighborhood is physically run-down, but both long-term and new residents maintain relatively high neighborhood confidence. A high proportion of recent buyers are professionals.



Sav-Mor is a community located between two major throughfares in Roxbury. It is an area of stable Black homeownership and mixed neighborhood confidence due in large part to considerable physical deterioration in the vicinity. Sav-Mor is located just south of Dudley Station, a major transportation terminal and one of the highest crime areas of the city.

This area is located to the east of the Washington Park Urban Renewal area, where there was considerable and visible

investment and improvement over the past several years. Sav-Mor itself was part of Boston's Model Cities area and benefited from that program. Along Warren Street, the western boundary of the neighborhood, there is a series of new health centers, community centers, job placement services, new fire and police stations, housing and schools. Warren Street itself was re-surfaced and is in better condition than other streets in the vicinity.

Housing and physical features

The housing in Sav-Mor varies from very good to extremely deteriorated, and the area looks run-down in comparison with many other Boston neighborhoods. Building type varies greatly, with single, two and three family homes mixed together with small and large apartment buildings.

There are vacant lots, especially along the Blue Hill Avenue side of the neighborhood, and a park in the heart of the neighborhood. Some of the residences are quite old, several people mentioned that their homes had been built one and two hundred years ago. There are newer, more cheaply built homes on land between the older homes, and some of these are quite unattractive. The older homes are generally in fair condition, and some seem to need a good deal of exterior work. Others are well kept, with colorful gardens in small yards.

Physical conditions closer to Blue Hill Avenue are worse than along Warren Street. The streets in Sav-Mor are winding, non-parallel, and one-way in odd directions, so it is difficult to drive through the area. This tends to keep out casual traffic, and helps maintain some sense of removal from the problems of more

severely deteriorated areas of Roxbury.

Features of attraction

Residents of Sav-Mor paid comparatively low prices for their homes. Not one of our respondents paid more than $20,000 for their home, and the average price in 1976 for all homes sold in the area was $6,500. This is the lowest average price paid in all of the neighborhoods we studied, and confirms the feelings of residents that the homes there are cheaper than elsewhere. One recent buyer said, "I would have moved to the suburbs if it wasn't such a good buy." A long term resident said that "if the house were in the country it would be worth much more."

In addition to cost, familiarity with the area seems to play an important part in people's decisions to move in and to purchase homes. Many grew up or lived for a long period in Roxbury or in nearby parts of Dorchester and the South End. This first-hand knowledge is a key factor in countering what people see as media exaggeration of the negative aspects of Roxbury. Personal knowledge of the area and proximity of friends make newcomers more comfortable with their decision to purchase here.

High neighborhood confidence

Residents of Sav-Mor express comparatively high confidence in the future of their neighborhood. Both long-term residents and recent buyers ranked third among the ten study areas in their overall levels of confidence. While most residents assert high

confidence, this attitude is not universally held. Some inhabitants are more tentative in their perceptions or are distinctly pessimistic about the future of the area.

Many people see signs that Roxbury is coming back. They cite evidence of physical improvement, and predict a better future for the area. One woman, a long-time resident, indicated that a realtor had told her "Roxbury will be a good district, (we're) trying to get people to move in." Another respondent told an interviewer that the neighborhood is changing from "unstable to stable, and community pride is on the upswing... I see hope down the line. Values are rising, and people will get their investment out. Roxbury is on the upswing... people want to move back to the city."

While there is not full consensus among both long-term and recent buyers about the neighborhood's future, many feel that at least this part of Roxbury is "up and coming." Since most of the people moving here already lived elsewhere in Roxbury before purchasing homes in Sav-Mor, there is a solid commitment to the neighborhood as their home. One forty-five year old woman said, "I always loved Roxbury. This is a beautiful street, and a close community. Most people on this street are retired and want to keep their home as nice as it's been. Others are hard-working black families who view this as a nice stable home. Most wouldn't move. In the longer range, I think we'll see positive changes in Roxbury... there are many who are interested in Roxbury."

The younger, recent buyers in the neighborhood tend to see the upgrading of the area as part of a broader commitment of the young to city living. One young Black man forecast, "We're on the edge of an evolution of change in the neighborhood. In the past, the trend for young Blacks has been to move out of the city, but now the trend is to move in and renovate."

A number of residents compare the future of this part of Roxbury to the South End, an area of Boston that has recently been extensively renovated and gentrified. While many welcome this change as a source of increased stability for the area and a form of protection for their investment, others express concern with how this will effect their ability to remain in the area

A white woman who has recently purchased a home in Sav-Mor, is afraid that the renovation of Warren St. may be both good and bad; that while fix-up is generally a positive trend, she fears it may lead to higher prices, a scenario that would repeat the South End experience. And one long-term resident suspects the City's motives in the neighborhood, saying "What I see is that the City is now letting properties go on purpose so that they can move whites back in and push Blacks into Randolph or some place in the sticks." The major concern is with the loss of mobility this would mean for the many residents of the neighborhood with cars.

A portion of those surveyed, however, are oblivious to any positive changes. One Black man, a long-term resident of the area remarked, "I wouldn't recommend the area to anyone" and plans

to stay only because he cannot afford to move. Another indicated that the City's promises for a better future were only "empty promises" with a little visible evidence to support the betterment of the area.

While a strongly optimistic view of the area pervades most residents' thoughts, a small but significant number have doubts about the possibilities for a better future for themselves in the neighborhood.

Owner occupancy

A strong theme that emerged from the interviews with residents is that an increase in owner-occupied dwellings has occured over the past few years, and that owner-occupancy is a key to high rates of maintenance and improvement of property. Their feeling is confirmed by statistics on real estate transactions which show that owner-occupancy has nearly doubled in this area in the past five years. Between 1972 and 1977, the rate of owner-occupancy increased from just over one-quarter, to nearly one half of all dwellings; Sav-Mor moved from having nearly the lowest rate of owner-occupancy of all our neighborhoods (ranked 10th) in 1972 to the middle range (ranked 6th) in 1977.

Owner-occupancy is very closely linked with resident's recognition of their area as a "neighborhood." In areas with high proportions of absentee-owned buildings nearby, the identified "neighborhood" became less encompassing, of smaller scale. When asked if their residence area was a neighborhood, those with

large absentee-owned sections closeby responded, yes, this street is (a neighborhood)" or "this end of the street is."

Property maintenance (or lack of it) by their neighbors was a key to the views of many residents of the neighborhood's future. But there was recognition of two components to the problem of inadequate maintenance - the owner's financial capability and his attitude toward the property. As one said "Some people can't afford (to maintain their homes), and some don't care. Absentee landlords just want the rent."

An older woman, resident of the area for 25 years, complained, "I put in new gutters 3 or 4 years ago because they were needed. It (the house) needs more repairs, but I can't afford them."

Financial assistance to resident owners could address this problem without causing a change in occupancy. But the second problem, of maintenance of absentee-owned property, is more difficult to address. In the minds of Sav-Mor residents, the importance of owner-occupancy is closely linked to property upkeep and thus to neighborhood confidence. "Give a man an address and he'll take care of his property," one resident remarked.

A long-term renter summed up the issues of financial capability, and owner-occupancy with a statement explaining why he will not repair his home: "It's not my house. Fixing costs money, and many people don't have it. I wouldn't even own property because taxes are too high."

The people

Although racially homogeneous, this area is heterogeneous in terms of social class and social status. The long-term residents of Sav-Mor are a highly professional group and have the highest rate of college-educated people of the long-term residents in any neighborhood. There is also a high proportion of service workers. The professional occupations include nurses and teachers; the service workers include domestics. Many expressed concern about the type of people attracted to low rent, poorly maintained rental units. The comments of one long-term Black homeowner illustrated this view:

> "When I first lived on this street it was real nice. Homes were kept up. Then... Houses were subdivided, renters came in. There were lots of people on welfare. Though this end is still mostly owners, the other end is renters. It's a different class of people, that's what it is. Write that down. It's a lower class moving in here."

Long-term residents here think that recent purchasers have had a positive influence in countering the effect of absentee-owned rental properties on their neighborhood. One sixty-three year old man said that recent changes are due to "white absentee landlords turning homes over (i.e. selling) to Black owner-occupants. More people are homeowners now, there are fewer renters. The neighborhood is getting better."

Although some people intend to remain in the neighborhood because of early signs of neighborhood revitalization, others' commitments to the area stem from long-standing familiarity with

the neighborhood and its residents. One forty year old man stated succintly, "it's my neighborhood! I'm here, I feel part of it."

But for a third group of residents, the expectation of continued residency in the area arises from their perceived lack of options - "I'm stuck here," said one. Another woman, in discussing an earlier consideration of moving out, illustrated the kind of economic and social constraints that form another component of neighborhood stability. "We stayed because, well for one thing we would have needed two cars and we couldn't afford that. Also, Black children who move to white neighborhoods are usually isolated and not much in touch with their own kind."

Physical environment

The importance of the physical environment to people's confidence or lack of it is clearly seen in Sav-Mor. People maintain their homes "because I want to live in a decent surrounding." Absentee owners are repeatedly viewed as bad for a neighborhood because "People don't care if they don't live there." There was a great deal of concern expressed about abandoned housing, a visible sign of neglect and deterioration.

Physical and environmental aspects, such as trash in vacant lots and streets, and street maintenance, as well as such major blighting influences as abandoned structures, are very important to residents here. The physical environment is one of the things that long-term residents like most about the neighborhood, though a similar proportion of them like the environment least.

For recent buyers, social attributes of the residents are liked most, but physical environment is liked least. Many more recent buyers complain about the environment than do long-term residents.

Neighborhood security

Dissatisfaction with crime in the area was expressed by both long-term and recent residents, although more long-term residents are concerned with security than are recent buyers. This may be related to age difference, with older long-term residents being more concerned with crime and security than are younger recent buyers.

A number of residents said that they would not leave their homes at night, and left the impression with the interviewers that they consider themselves prisoners in their homes. Given the high crime area of Dudley Station just to the north, this maybe a realistic attitude. The primary concern is with crime committed by juveniles - "Young people are not being controlled." One long-term resident who was attacked by youths a few years back now keeps a crow-bar under the seat of his car. And he refuses to invite people he has not known for some time into his home because he fears they are casing his home for a break-in at some later point. Security problems are a major block to high neighborhood confidence.

Media

Residents of Sav-Mor feel that media coverage of their neighborhood is primarily negative, and much of it exaggerated

and unjustified. "Only the bad news is covered. Something could happen in Dorchester and if it's negative they'll attribute it to Roxbury," said a twenty-six year old man who has lived in Roxbury all his life. One recent buyer claimed, "They never talk about the good things, only the bad. Most people don't even know there is a mall in Roxbury. People read about the neglect, the rundown buildings. Newsmen don't look at the good or historical buildings here."

Some people are especially sensitive to the tendency of the media to lump together all sections of Roxbury and view them as one homogeneous mass. One recent buyer asserted, "When you say Roxbury, people have a picture of Roxbury. Having lived many places (here) I can tell you its not all one big mass, all alike... many people don't realize Roxbury is different in different parts."

Though many felt the media's depiction of Roxbury had a strong negative slant, some were aware of recent media coverage of efforts to upgrade Roxbury. When asked about the news stories they could recall, several mentioned two recent stories, one on an effort by a community organization to clean trash off vacant lots in Roxbury, the other a proposal by the City of Boston to the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development for funding of an Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) to improve the Blue Hill Avenue area. As mentioned above, Blue Hill Avenue forms the eastern boundary of the neighborhood, and the UDAG proposal would naturally be of special interest to residents here.

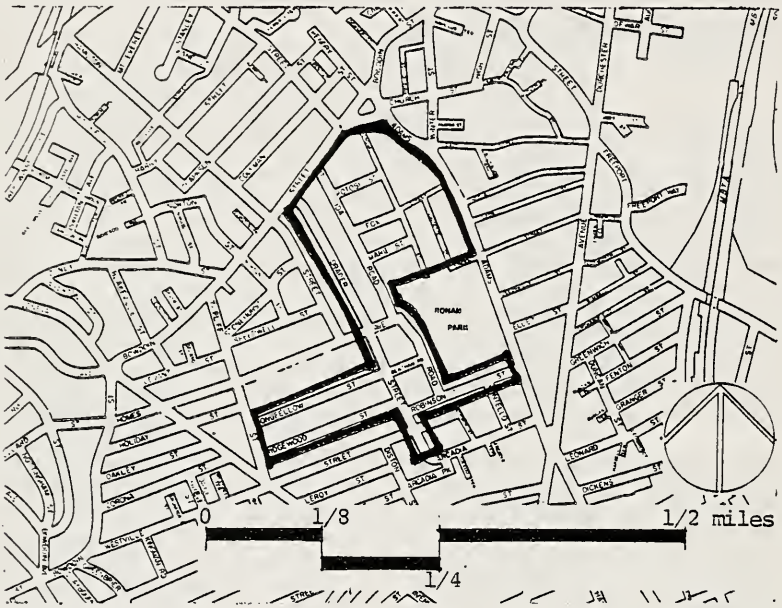
The usual mention of crime and violence in the news was overshadowed for these people by the possibility of physical and financial improvements that might be coming to their area, and shows how important these efforts are to residents of Boston neighborhoods.

Neighborhood associations

Some recent buyers seem especially sensitive to the absence of strong homeowner or neighborhood associations and feel the creation of such groups could go a long way to instill confidence and deal with problems of litter and crime. One recent buyer who had spoken with his neighbors about forming an association felt the most important thing the City could do in the neighborhood was to help these organizations get going. "The City should break the streets up into blocks and form committees of people interested in security patrols. That way you could monitor the kids and make sure people dispose of the litter and garbage. People just sit and watch people break into houses and don't do anything." Others felt the creation of neighborhood associations was the first step to creating a sense of community pride and a "self-help" form of responsibility for the neighborhood.

DRAPER

A neighborhood of three-deckers in fair to good physical condition that is experienceing significant racial transition. Most of the long-term residents are Irish; at least one-third of the recent buyers are Black. Both long-term and new residents have low neighborhood confidence, but a high proportion of recent buyers plan to stay.



The Draper district is located in the northern area of Dorchester. Situated within the area commonly known as Meeting House Hill, this neighborhood sits atop a hill and borders Ronan Park. The first Parish Church established in 1630 occupies a striking building rebuilt in 1894, facing Dorchester common. Nearby residents look out from the porches of their triple deckers across Ronan Park to the Boston Harbor Islands and the Blue Hills.

Most of the housing stock is triple decker homes. Many of these are in fine condition, although there is deterioration and abandonment on some streets. As in many other parts of Dorchester, the physical environment in Draper changes radically from street to street. Longfellow St., for example is a pleasant street with well-maintained homes. Around the corner, however, is Ridgewood St. where the efforts of vandalism and poor upkeep are painfully obvious.

Draper is an area of transition. It is bordered by Bowdoin St. to the north which was once the main thriving commercial district of the area. Now, many of the businesses there have closed down. The steel gratings on the shop windows reflect the struggles of the few businesses still in operation. Many residents spoke of the lack of businesses in the area as a major problem.

Ronan Park is equipped with two baseball fields, tennis courts, basketball courts, and has a good view of Savin Hill and Dorchester Bay. But instead of being a pleasant open space in the center of the neighborhood, Ronan Park is perceived by many as a negative influence in the area. Some residents see the park used by drinking gangs of youths, and as a meeting place for vandals. One recent home buyer said, "The future of the neighborhood depends on which way the park goes."

The majority of the residents in the area are Irish, although one-third of recent buyers whom we interviewed are Black. A few professionals live here, but most of the residents are employed in service jobs, in clerical positions and as craftsmen.

The educational level in the area is relatively low, with 43% (one of the highest percentages in the survey) reporting that they had not finished high school and only 7% finishing college.

Low neighborhood confidence

Draper ranks toward the bottom of our study areas with respect to neighborhood confidence (8th among long-term residents and 7th among recent buyers). Relatively low proportions of Draper residents felt that in recent years property values had risen or stayed the same. They were more pessimistic about what their area will be like in three years, and relatively few of them would repeat their decision to move in or would recommend the area to children. The one exception in terms of our indicators of neighborhood confidence was that Draper showed the highest proportion of recent buyers who plan to stay in their present neighborhood. While we interpret planning to stay as an indication of confidence, in this instance it may only represent resignation to an inability to move anywhere else. "If prices weren't so high (elsewhere) we'd leave now," said one young couple, "It doesn't cost much for us to live here." Another recent buyer claimed the former owner's daughter wanted to come back to rent in the neighborhood because of the low prices in the area. "She's in Braintree now and apartments are very expensive there." Clearly, high costs found in outside housing markets are a factor in some families' continued residency in Draper.

Further evidence of low neighborhood confidence can be seen in the fact that Draper was one of the areas with the greatest amount of negative change mentioned by both recent buyers (59%) and long-term residents (76%). The perceived direction of property values was overwhelmingly downward. One long-term resident stated, "In the past I considered moving out, but it was not financially feasible at the time." At the time we spoke with her she had acquired sufficient resources and was preparing to move to Quincy.

Concerns about security

A primary factor contributing to low neighborhood confidence in Draper is a high incidence of crime and vandalism experienced or perceived by residents. One woman said that over $100 of plants had been taken from her front porch and smashed in the street. Another stated:

> "When we first came here things were different. People were real friendly--crime was the last thing on our minds. We used to walk to Novena every Monday night, no problem. Now it's different. Just this morning I was accosted on my way to a funeral! I just don't know what to expect anymore."

An elderly long-term resident now feels she must lock her windows at night, even in the summer, and is careful not to carry her handbag when walking in the neighborhood.

Statements of another long-term resident reflect this feeling of fear and the sense that the area is going down: "Things are worse, but it's nothing I can put my tongue on (sic). It's more of an atmosphere, a sense, that it's becoming

unpleasant... There's still a certain amount of pride, but there are many more people who don't give a damn. People in the city are always suspicious, but today, more than 10 years ago, people are becoming paranoid with fear." Another resident said, "I haven't any faith in it (the neighborhood). I just can't be happy living here--I'm not free to walk down the street safely."

Of particular concern are the groups of white teenagers who congregate in the park, drinking and vandalizing the structures there. Many feel the city should direct more attention to the problems with teenagers: "(Give us) cultural activities and recreational programs," one recent buyer said. "Give us people to help the kids use their leisure time."

Breakdown of the social neighborhood

Many feel that the crime and vandalism have contributed to a breakdown of "neighborliness" and sense of unity. "What was a neighborhood has declined to such a mixture that people are not as friendly toward one another and are more suspicious," one long-term resident stated. Residents give the distinct impression of an atmosphere of isolation and paranoia, one where any gestures of friendliness or sociability are greeted with suspicion. One young recent buyer, who wanted to meet others in the neighborhood complained, "When I grew up on Glensdale Street... you'd sit on the stoop and people would come over to talk to you. Here if you sit on the stoop people walk to the other side of the street to avoid you. They're afraid you're

going to rob them or something. Everyone keeps to themselves."

People also exhibited concern with the increasing transience of neighborhood residents. Many felt the lack of confidence in the Draper neighborhood has led to rapid turnover of rental housing in the area. This condition, in turn has undermined the desirability of the neighborhood by breaking down its social networks. "People move in and out so fast you don't know anybody. It's very unsociable... nobody will help anybody anymore."

In addition to a perceived high rate of turnover, residents are dissatisfied with the type of newcomers attracted to the neighborhood. Their comments ranged from racial prejudice, "I hate it! the coloreds are moving in," to comments about newcomers' lack of money: "People who move in are on subsidies. Why should they care when the government pays?" Another resident added, "Poorer minorities don't have the equity to keep things up. Often they've gotten the homes too easily--they don't really care about them because they didn't have to sweat for them."

Declining physical condition

Most residents were very concerned about the physical deterioration of the area. "Lots of property is rotting. Some damn good 3-family homes could be fixed up. I wish the area were cleaner; that people would take more interest in cleaning. They just need to take more care." But many residents sense that the problem is related as much to financing as it is to attitude. "(The houses) need a lot of work but people can't afford to fix them up, or they feel it's not worth it anymore,"

one long-term resident said.

Some long-term residents commented on an increase in the number of vacant houses in the area. The problem of escalating abandonment is of grave concern to residents because it is accompanied by the threat of arson. In sections where abandonment is rising, future confidence plummets. One couple, long-term residents of the area, claimed, "There's been a lot of fires around here, it's a high risk area and you pay through the teeth for insurance." They were preparing to move out of the neighborhood in the summer. Yet most residents see deterioration as the areas's most widespread physical problem, one they felt could be remedied by a concerted rehabilitaion effort.

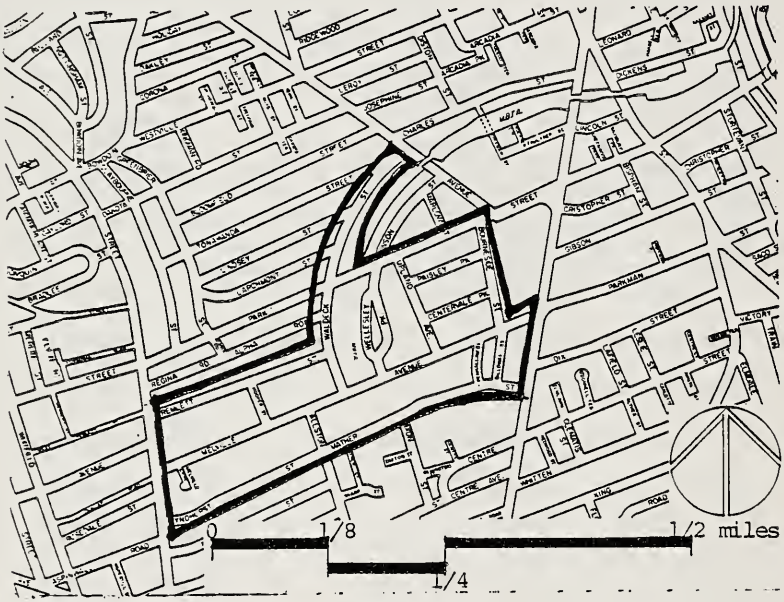
The negative attitudes about the physical condition of the area were seen as an attractive quality by a few recent buyers. "This house was degrading the neighborhood. We wanted to improve it. If we can fix up this house it'll keep the whole area." Another recent buyer mentioned public monies and a neighborhood spirit saying, "The future of the neighborhood is contingent on whether HUD sinks money in or not. When you start dressing up a neighborhood everyone joins in. But it'll deteriorate if no money comes in." Yet most of the optimism was tempered by a recognition of the realities of the area: "Dorchester has a great future--there are a lot of nice things here. I'd like to invest in a small business here, but my husband's frightened." A long-term resident said, "I think it's stabilizing a bit--people with young kids who've bought here now can't afford to

move and send their kids to private schools. Others like us are fairly comfortable here. Things like convenience and continuity keep people around. There's still a thread of hope."

That thread of hope was apparent in many residents, but was tempered by the problems of security, deterioration and long-term residents' fear of new residents. Yet when asked if they would do it all over again and move into the area, or if they would recommend the area to their children or other young adults, over 55% of those we spoke to responded affirmatively. Confidence may be faltering in Draper, but there are cautious signs of hope that provide a potential basis for public and private actions to turn the area around.

MELVILLE-PARK

An area of handsome Victorians and other single-family homes in very good condition. A primary site of "gentrification" by young professionals who have been moving in during the last few years. An active neighborhood association dominated by newcomers. Neighborhood confidence is high among both long-term and new residents.



Melville-Park is a neighborhood which differs sharply from the areas which surround it. Physically, this stand of large and handsome Victorian homes contrasts with less well maintained housing to the immediate North and to the West across Washington Street. The residents have a well-developed pride in their neighborhood and believe the differences make Melville-Park and prove that it is strong and prospering. Residents, both long-term and recent, express very high confidence in this neighborhood.

Among long-term residents, this pride can be traced to a deep appreciation of Melville-Park's history and the continuing convenience its location affords. Among recent buyers, the physical beauty of the neighborhood is inspirational and given substance by a "sense of community."

Melville-Park is located between Fields Corner and Codman Square, two blighted commercial areas which are viewed as threatening. One resident called Codman Square "garbage" and the surrounding areas "plywood city" with a "honky-tonky atmosphere." In general, Dorchester residents and Melville-Park respondents have written off Codman Square as an area already lost to high crime and declining business interests. Its deterioration is linked to racial change, specifically the influx of poor Black families from Roxbury on the West side of Washington Street.

Fields Corner's future is less predictable. Many Melville-Park residents see some of the same occurrences which precipitated Codman Square's downfall at Fields Corner - increasing incidence of crime, physical deterioration, and the exodus of some businesses, yet they also believe there is still time for improvement. For these people, Melville-Park's future and that of Fields Corner are intimately linked. How long Melville-Park can survive, an island of Victoriana surrounded by less well-to-do neighborhoods, is a question at the back of most respondents' minds. As one long-term resident put it, "I'm in an oasis here. All around me is destruction."

Yet the majority of long-term residents exhibit a much stronger sense of confidence about the neighborhood's future. They claim that the most severe threat to the area is past, having peaked in the late sixties and early seventies. One couple, long-term residents of Melville-Park, characterized the low confidence existing at that time: "People panicked in the neighborhood and began selling. Most stood their ground to see what would happen. We considered leaving about eight years ago (but stayed). When someone made a good offer to others, though, many sold their houses." Since that time, the couple perceives that there has been a definite upswing in the area's confidence. In contrast to that era, they claim, people today "are bullish on the neighborhood."

Well-developed pride

Both long-term residents and recent buyers are vigorously proud of their neighborhood. If the surrounding areas threaten Melville-Park, they also encourage a sense of community. Residents are proud of the fact that they are different and surviving.

Many long-term residents grew up in the neighborhood or in nearby parts of Dorchester and enjoy the proximity to family and friends. They sense in their neighborhhod the existence of both social and physical features which distinguish it from other sections of the city, making it a special and superior place to live.

Socially, Melville-Park is marked by an ethic of mutual

assistance and neighborhood self-help. "People help themselves here," one long-term resident boasted. "They don't wait for the city to clear the streets (in winter), they do it themselves. They have pride in the area!" There is a strong sense of civic responsibility, as indicated by many residents' involvement in community activities. While not unique to Melville-Park, these involvements nonetheless indicate a high level of commitment to their neighbors and the city as a whole.

Melville-Park is physically distinct from its larger setting as well. Recent buyers and long-term residents have a deep appreciation for the beauty and elegance of the houses that make Melville-Park - large Victorian, single-family homes, ornately decorated, with large green yards, and occasionally a carriage house or barn. "In the 1890's, this was all part of the Walter Baker Estate. There are butlers' pantries in every house, which means they had servants. Millionaires must have lived here," another remarked proudly. "Years ago, it used to be the Commonwealth Avenue area of Dorchester."

Unlike surrounding sections, Melville-Park is characterized by a high percentage of single family homes and a greater percentage of owner-occupants, which lends a sense of stability to the area. Eighty-five per cent of the homes of recent buyers in Melville-Park were owner-occupied, making it among the highest ranking of the study areas in that characteristic. The distinctiveness and desirability of the area is reflected in the comparatively high average sale price of $21,700 over the last five years. Residents often give the impression that

Melville-Park is a kind of urban Shangri-la, nestled away, shielded from the rougher parts of the City. "An idyllic little urban island," one resident called it. Another reaffirmed its virtues: "If this neighborhood doesn't work, no place will."

Upturn in recent years

Naturally, there are variations among responses, but overall, people like Melville-Park. Long-term residents speak of a turn for the better in the last two to five years. "In the last five years it has stabilized. Ten years ago, the area was going down. Now different races live together."

People here believe that, unlike earlier times, houses have been sold in the past few years not for fear of racial change but because parents have grown too old to maintain large houses and their children have long since left home. "The people who have moved out," one long-term resident claimed, "are long-term residents whose spouses have died. They cannot keep their homes up any more, cannot do regular maintenance things like cutting the lawn or shoveling snow...Others are having problems meeting costs (of taxes and upkeep)." She rents out a portion of her house in order to remain in Melville-Park.

The aging of the area's long-term residents has recently led to a relatively large-scale turnover of properties in the area. Some long-term residents see this as a part of a natural stage in the life cycle which confirms their sense that Melville-Park remains, for the time being, a healthy neighborhood. "We came here as young couples," one long-term resident said.

"Now the newcomers are doing the same."

Influx of young professionals

Perhaps the most striking feature of recent turnover in Melville-Park lies in the age and occupational makeup of recent buyers. There have been 96 recorded home sales in Melville-Park from 1972 to early 1977. Of these, 78 per cent of the buyers were between the ages of 20 and 44. Fully 42 per cent of the recent buyers had either professional or managerial occupations. This figure indicates an injection of a more educated, youthful and energetic population into the Melville-Park neighborhood, traditionally an area of professional, middle-class families.

The young professionals were attracted to the neighborhood by many of the same features long-term residents also prize. It is clear that recent buyers like the people with whom they are living and express great satisfaction with the area's "sense of community." Recent buyers frequently mention the friendliness and openness of residents as a strong factor in their decision to move in. One recent buyer spoke of her experiences with residents of the area: "We knew some people here - not really well, though. They took me around to talk with different neighborhs," she said. "People were very helpful. In Brookline (where they were also looking for a house), nobody volunteered information about the neighborhood."

Another recent buyer, asked how she would describe Melville-Park, emphasized "the friendliness, the sense of neighborhood. Even before we bought this house, people went out of their way

to meet us."

Also important to the recent buyers was the physical appearance of the neighborhood. To many, the large yards provide a sense of openness and space, making life here "like country living in the city." Others spoke of an attraction to the gaslit park on Wellesley Ave. But an overwhelming number of recent buyers pointed to the Victorian architecture of the houses and the interior workmanship as a strong feature of attraction. Some have attempted historically authentic restoration of the house exteriors. This focus on the house appearance is irritating to some long-term residents: "They like their homes," one person said of the recent buyers. "But perhaps there's too much awareness of how things are looking. In suburbia, a poorly painted house might be overlooked. Here, it's of extreme importance."

Recent buyers also mention that they are drawn to the area by its "diversity." The question which remains is why is diversity a positive feature here and a negative feature in the other study areas. It may be that when respondents speak of diversity they mean several things. Often they refer to the diversity which results from the old selling homes to the young and the remaining presence of some long-term residents. There is racial or ethnic diversity, class diversity, and combinations of the above three.

Some recent buyers specifically sought the racial diversity provided by Black and Haitian families living in the area. One person mentioned that the area seems integrated in a stable way,

indicating few fears that the racial make-up of the neighborhood would change dramatically. A bi-racial couple indicated that they had been readily accepted by other recent buyers, as did a communal household which was recently purchased in the area. "The neighborhood was very open to us," one member of the commune said. "Families were quite comfortable with our lifestyle."

But the emphasis on diversity may be limited. By virtue of similar educational levels and income, recent buyers seem to share a critical core of common values and viewpoints. This seems to be a factor in making recent buyers feel at home in Melville-Park. "We realized we had a lot in common (with our neighbors)," one woman said. "We really liked that." Another recent buyer maintained that "I'm happy with the people moving in, perhaps because they resemble me....I'd like to see the area racially integrated (with professional Blacks). It's mixing classes that really creates problems."

Convenience to downtown and to cultural events also formed a key feature in most recent buyers' decisions to buy in Melville-Park. Most are very satisfied with the neighborhood, with 90 per cent indicating that they would move in again if they had it to do over.

Influence of recent buyers

Recent buyers in Melville-Park have made a strong impression on their neighbors' perceptions. They are viewed as being responsible for recent improvements in the neighborhood and

are seen as being a new vital force. While many long-term residents have been more passive about neighborhood upgrading and more uncertain about the future, the young professionals buying here have been quite active both in physically upgrading the area and in fostering in Melville-Park a very strong and positive image of a neighborhood on the way up again. These efforts have had an impact on some long-term residents' outlooks on the future. Many of them see property values as increasing again. "Their effects have all been positive," said one long-term resident. "Houses are kept up better; the neighborhood has regained its vitality." Another asserted unequivocally, "Young people are a positive force."

The young professionals themselves perceive that they have had a key role in revitalizing the area. "We're putting new life into the nieghborhood," one said. Another indicated, "People who used to bad-mouth the area now are saying...'maybe it's not so bad.' I think we newcomers have played a role in that. People have told us, 'You young people, we're thrilled to have you here'."

One particularly important contribution of the young newcomers is the energetic and active Melville-Park Association, an organization of area residents.

Strong neighborhood association

Melville-Park's strong, recently formed neighborhood association takes great pride in its role in the preservation of Melville-Park's housing and social mix. Its members consist largely of

recent buyers and its activities are dominated by young professionals. Only one of the long-term residents interviewed belonged to this Neighborhood Association, yet many were aware of its existence. The Association has been instrumental in improving the image of the area by helping to secure positive press coverage and by sponsoring promotional events such as the Melville-Park House Tour. The Association has also initiated clean-up efforts in the area and has successfully lobbied with City officials for more visible police protection to address problems of crime and vandalism. A mounted policeman now patrols the area daily. "The younger people are more effective politically," one long-term resident asserted. They are alert and aware of what's happening."

The Association has established a House Bank through which properties are handled for resale in the neighborhood. This informal institution seems to have been quite effective in increasing residents' confidence in the neighborhood's future.

Some neighborhood conflict

The influence of the newcomers has not been without its negative side. There are indications of friction between recent buyers and some of the long-term residents. While the feeling is not widespread, the young professionals' dominance of the Neighborhood Association is a source of irritation to some long-term residents. This was mentioned by both long-term residents and by some of the recent buyers themselves. One newcomer explained:

> "There's a sizable minority of older residents who feel that they've stuck it out here for years and now feel that the neighborhood is being taken over and run by outsiders. They feel they were caring for their properties for years and years and were ignored. They now resent that they haven't gotten credit for maintaining the neighborhood. They are not as educated as the newcomers and feel the more educated people are patronizing to them. That does happen sometimes."

There is also a thread of elitism on the part of some newcomers that seems related to their higher educational level and sophistication. This feeling of distinction and superiority is reflected by one young woman who remarked that the neighborhood is "like a little oasis of nice single family homes in the desert of triple deckers for the working class." Others felt it necessary to assert: "We're here by choice more than by necessity." And a few even spoke with disdain of the poor who reside in the areas surrounding Melville-Park and who predominate in the Fields Corner commercial area. A few recent buyers want the Fields Corner shopping district to serve their desires for "a higher caliber of goods and services." "The Purity Supreme is awful. It's crowded. It attracts welfare people who should be shopping in Codman Square...," one newcomer said. "These are people with 12 to 15 people in their family. They use food stamps and don't speak English. It's terrible...," he continued. "They invariably hold up the check out lines." One young woman expressed the hope that in the future Fields Corner would be more like Harvard Square, where she could get fresh coffee, cheese, and good wines.

It might be expected that these conflicts will intensify

in the future, since many of the young professionals indicate they have been trying (often successfully) to "sell" the neighborhood to their friends. But it is also possible that, as time goes on, the groups will reach a stage of mutual adjustment, or at least of peaceful coexistence.

Recommendations to the city

Although the neighborhood is extensively perceived as improving, trouble spots do exist in Melville-Park. Here and there among the grand homes one finds collapsing porches and shells of wood and glass. Park Street, the neighborhood's northern border, consists mostly of triple-deckers. It is only one block south of a more deteriorated area of poorly cleaned streets. Two Park Street residents had the most intense complaints - "Not everyone is smiling or fixing. People are selling but can't get the money." Another complained that "A different type of people are moving in. We don't go outside. There's crime and bad purse snatchings. Those kids come from surrounding areas. We can't go to Codman Square or Fields Corner."

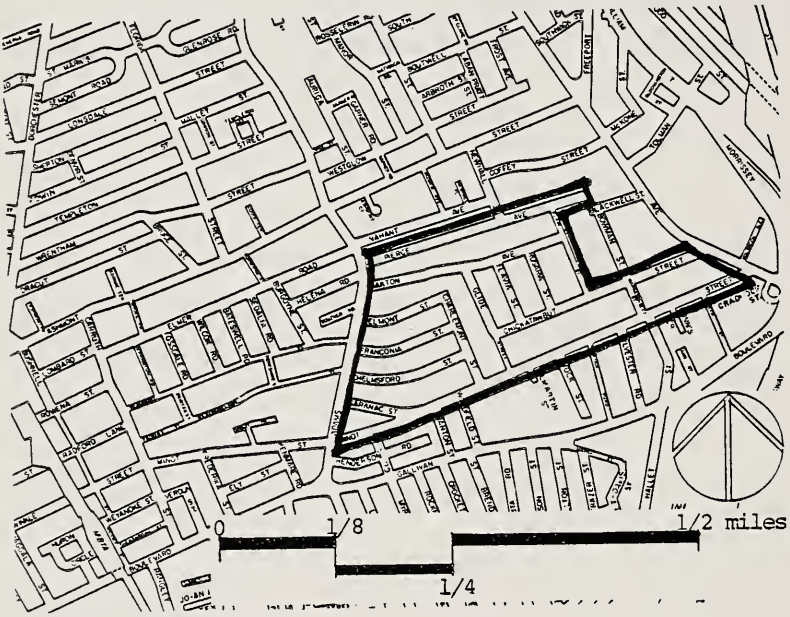
Both recent buyers and long-term residents would like the City to make physical improvements in Melville-Park - street repairs, in particular. Long-term residents would also like to see more police patrols, better lighting, lower property taxes, and more loans to homeowners for repairs, a service which would enable more elderly residents to remain if they wished. Recent buyers would like to see lower taxes, but they are more concerned with revitalization of Codman Square and

Fields Corner.

While the problem of deterioration throughout the whole of Dorchester is perceived as needing attention, residents see Melville-Park's upgrading as a significant preliminary step in that larger process. "I don't relate to Dorchester as a whole," one resident remarked, "only to my neighborhood." The upgrading process is proceeding, residents perceive, one step at a time.

MINOT

A very stable, all-white neighborhood of well-maintained three-deckers, two- and one-family homes. Residents have the highest neighborhood confidence of any study area and express a strong desire for continued stability and for no change in who lives there. A strong neighborhood group has been organized to encourage residents to stay in the larger district in which this study area is situated.



Minot, located in the Neponset section of Dorchester, is one of the smaller study areas, having in 1970 a population of less than 2000 persons. At that time there were no Blacks among the residents of the area, and there are still none. This district is an older working class community of European ethnic groups, primarily of Irish descent. Of the eleven areas studied, this one has the highest proportion of homeowners who

have lived at the same address for at least ten years. Minot as an area is struggling to hold on to what it has acheived over the past years and is resisting any changes in the population composition, especially the movement of Blacks into the area.

The neighborhood is located just to the west of the Southeast Expressway (I 93), an elevated road that carries commuter traffic to South Shore suburbs and vacationers to Cape Cod. Just across the expressway is a beach on Boston Harbor that a number of residents mentioned as being an advantage to living in the neighborhood - "We even have our own beach."

One block to the south of the neighborhood boundary line is Gallivan Boulevard, with the characteristics of strip developments at expressway interchanges nationwide: car dealerships, fast food restaurants, and gas stations. On the eastern boundary of the neighborhood, Adams Street, where it intersects Gallivan Boulevard, is a neighborhood shopping center with locally-oriented small businesses such as hardware stores, florists, cleaners, and groceries.

The proximity of the expressway and the location of a thriving local business district on the borders of the neighborhood are often cited by residents as being major attractions or anchors for this very stable neighborhood that is well-loved by both long-term residents and recent buyers.

But the area's proximity to more racially transitional districts has had considerable impact on the thoughts of Minot

residents. Although the response of whites in Minot seems to be one of digging in and holding on to their turf, residents expressed some fears about what encroaching deterioration could mean to the area.

The primarily three-decker housing located closest to the business district, especially along Minot Street just off Adams, shows some signs of deterioration. Paint is peeling, mailboxes are vandalized, and people were reluctant to speak to interviewers. But as one moves further into the heart of the neighborhood, three-deckers become interspersed with single- and two- family homes, and the overall physical appearance improves. Owners take great pride in painting their homes vividly, and Victorian gingerbread trim is often painted unusual colors, emphasizing the fine workmanship.

Highest neighborhood confidence

Long-term residents and recent buyers in Minot showed higher neighborhood confidence than their counterparts in all of the other study areas. Taken as a whole, residents of this district expressed the strongest confidence in their area.

There may be a relationship between the high rating of Minot on measures of confidence and the fact that this area has, by far, the highest stability index of all eleven Boston neighborhoods. Nearly 60 per cent of all residents have lived at their present address for ten years, and many are lifelong residents. The proportion of owner-occupants has increased by 17 per cent between 1972 and 1977, and this is both a cause and

a consequence of the high stability.

Three major elements contribute to the higher index of confidence in Minot. The first is the combination of condition and quality of the housing stock. Many respondents indicated that the neighborhood has never suffered from the problem of poor maintenance or absentee ownership. As one long time resident said, "People have always kept their houses up here."

The second contributing factor is the reasonable prices of the housing stock compared to the cost of housing in the suburba, Minot's prime competitor. A middle-aged woman said, "The house here is better than anything the suburbs had to offer for the price." Another said, "It's too expensive to live elsewhere." The price and style of housing is a special attraction for more recent buyers who perceived that the size and attractiveness of the stock made it the ideal area in which to buy. "I wanted a house with character, not a modern two-bedroom ranch house," remarked one, but "I guess the clincher was money, the price for what we were getting."

The strength of the market is reflected in the sale prices. Sellers in this area ask for, and get, higher sales prices than in other study areas. The median sale price in 1976 was $29,000. This is, of course, much lower than prices for comparable units outside of Boston or in several other section of Boston proper.

The third factor contributing to resident confidence is found in the income and occupations of people in the Minot area. With better paid jobs than those in most of the other study

areas, residents could more easily afford the cost of maintenance and the higher purchase prices. The people in Minot are not the "young professionals" found in the Melville-Park area; in fact, only 14 per cent of the recent sellers listed professional occupations and many fewer recent buyers were professionals. But both long-term residents and recent buyers here are among the better paid of the blue collar workers, craftsmen, and service workers. A number of long-term residents were retired (many of them from the city police and fire departments) or were housewives whose husbands has sufficient incomes so that they could temporarily or permanently drop out of the work force. A number of recent buyers work for the City and saw the Minot area as an acceptable area in which to satisfy the City's residency requirement, yet attain the lower density residential settings they desired.

Though the occupations of residents do not place them in the highest income brackets, they do provide the financial means which assure consistent maintenance of their homes. This, in turn, contributes to the perception of neighborhood stability and confidence in the area occupied by "good working people."

These factors have sustained the desirability of this area as a residential location even for those who cannot purchase homes but who rent in the duplexes and three-deckers of the area. One woman commented, "Apartments are at a premium here. There are waiting lines for apartments. People don't even want to know the rent. Money is no object, they're just trying to

get in." This statement describes a market in which demand is greater than supply, a healthy market where disinvestment in the immediate future seems unlikely.

One long-term resident who has lived here since the area was primarily farmland, and cows were a common sight, said that the area was now extremely stable, that only two houses have been sold on her street in recent years, both due to the death of the owner, and that the area is so desirable that people come to the door asking if there are any houses for sale on the street. According to one elderly long-term resident, the majority of residents were born and raised in the area, and that explains their desire to maintain it the way it is now.

The greatest emphasis is on the area's current stability and on a desire for the neighborhood to remain unchanged both physically and in racial composition. When asked what they would like their neighborhood to be like in the future, residents said they want it to stay the same. There is a fear that any change will be for the worse, with an accompanying sense that "there's not too much to improve," short of making the area "paradise." In the recent past, people have seen few positive or negative changes, and anticipate neither positive nor negative changes for the future. There is an especially low proportion of residents here who would like to see physical and environmental changes. This probably reflects a realistic assessment of conditions in much of the rest of Dorchester, where many physical and environmental changes have been for the worse,

with the exception of the renovation of Melville-Park.

Although one middle-aged man said that "it hasn't changed in forty years, and it won't change now," there is a feeling among the researchers that the emphasis on stability is as much a hope as a prediction. Several long-term residents said that many people have moved out because of busing, and one man expressed concern that the newer residents may not keep up their homes as well as the older residents did.

The island imagery

There is a feeling in Minot that the area is distinct from the rest of Dorchester in its present stability and superior physical condition. Many residents made comments like "Neponset is the last good area in Dorchester," "This is the only section of Dorchester left standing on its feet."

The people in Minot, in the southern part of Dorchester, are definitely aware of the blight occuring in other parts of Dorchester. Some are afraid that they are living in the path of deterioration. One woman, a recent buyer, indicated "The worst thing (about this area) is the prospect, however remote, of the deterioration of the neighborhood."

This view reflects some limits on the neighborhood confidence of Minot residents. Although Minot residents had very high confidence rankings on questions about property values, plans to stay, and recommending the neighborhood to their children, they ranked fifth on their prediction of what the neighborhood will be like in three years. This means that although

they see the neighborhood as stable over the past and through the present, their predictions for the future are less confident.

This may be due in part to the influx of people who are coming to Minot from parts of Dorchester which have suffered the effects of physical deterioration. A long-term resident estimated that "half the young people come from other parts of Boston, the troubled areas." A recent buyer reiterated this view, stating "some are people coming in from other parts of Dorchester, mostly people fleeing Blacks."

Race and fears of blight

Perceptions about the linkage of race and deterioration form a particularly important part of the neighborhood's concern about the future. Residents are especially apprehensive about the possible movement of Blacks to the area. One man said that what he liked most about the area is that "it's not colored yet." A high intensity of racial sentiment is evident. One person said, with reference to the largerly Black population of North Dorchester, "We're the silent majority down here. They keep spending money on those poor dopes up there who waste it all." Another young woman expressed distress about the physical deterioration she felt minorities brought with them. "Look at Blue Hill Avenue. The whole city is going Black and Puerto Rican. With Blacks the problem is poverty; with Puerto Ricans they're just bad-living people who wreck their homes." She also indicated her concern with what racial change would mean to the resale value of her property. We ask ourselves, "Are

we going to have to give away what we worked so hard to get?" Another long-term resident said, about the increasing proportion of Blacks in Dorchester, "Good luck to them if they want to better themselves," but the feeling remains that the white residents of Minot would rather the area kept its white complexion.

The fears of racial change and ensuing deterioration of property have had their effect on some Minot residents. Though most retain confidence in the area's future, some are worried about the security of their property investments. While there is much contrary evidence in other parts of the neighborhood, one middle-aged woman living on Minot Street said that people are not repairing their homes because they want to sell, and that some people are letting their properties go, perhaps because of absentee landlords nearby. She stated, "I was told by somebody to sell and move out, while I still could." A woman who recently bought in this section indicated her own strong confidence that the area will not deteriorate. But she did express views held by others in Minot and other parts of Dorchester. "What's bad about the city is ... the fear of encroaching bad areas coming from Codman Square and Fields Corner. The fear that you won't get the money back you put into the house. Most people who buy a home in the area now think it's a gamble. They're still doing it, but it is a gamble."

The suburban option

For some, concerns about surrounding blight have been the impetus for a move to the suburbs. To many, a suburban address signifies escape from the stigma of blight in the larger Dorchester area. One woman remarked about her neighbors who have left:

> "They're leaving because they feel the area is going down and they're a little better off financially. They think they can 'better themselves' by moving. I have a friend who thinks if you say you're from Milton people will have a better impression of you as a person. That's partly why she moved."

Clearly for many of the residents of Minot, more so than the less affluent residents of the other study areas, the suburbs present an attainable escape from the problems of the surrounding districts.

Many expressed the conflict between wanting the neighborhood to remain as it is and wanting to fulfill the American Dream of moving to suburbia. "When you walk around, you can see, from the yards being so well kept, that people really do care about their homes here. I think, and it's not just me, a lot of people here say it will be just as good in ten years. But in ten years, I want to move to the suburbs." Another said, "This is a home I love. I wish I could bring it to suburbia."

But to many others in Minot, the rosy perceptions of the suburbs are more myth than reality. Even among some of the younger upwardly mobile families, there is a strong anti-suburban sentiment and a defensiveness about the city life. People sense that "the suburbs aren't all they're cracked up to be." One young woman, in talking about the problems of crime and

vandalism in Dorchester, remarked that "I think the problems are really worse in the suburbs, but they have more money and can keep it quiet, out of the paper. You don't hear about Quincy's problems but they have 'em just like we do." Others made similar statements about the problems of suburban areas being swept under the rug.

There were other percevied flaws seen in the suburban "good life." One man, a resident of Dorchester for more than forty years, echoed a view expressed by others that the suburbs have high taxes but offer little return for them. He pointed out that a friend of his in Weymouth had to take his gargage to a dump because there was no municipal refuse pick-up and that, unlike the city, a car was the only means of transportation to work or stores. Another woman mentioned the lack of shopping areas within walking distance in the suburbs.

Many expressed their distaste of suburban elitism and snobbish attitudes toward the working class. "The people who saved early moved out to the suburbs," one woman claimed, "Some are coming back ... they say there are snobs in the suburbs. They like it here with family and friends they get along with."

Concern for population stability

Perhaps because of these more negative attitudes toward the suburbs, and the strong desire to retain a close-knit, homogeneous community, there is a growing desire to protect the area from the spread of blight or new kinds of people. "People didn't want to put money into their houses at first because of

the changes in Dorchester," one woman indicated, "Now they've decided they really want to hold on to the area so they've really begun investing." In speaking with residents, one gets the impression that families see the neighborhood as under siege, threatened by invasion from outside forces, and that they are preparing for a protracted struggle to preserve their community as it is now.

One of the reasons for the depth of protective sentiment is found in the linkages of residents to one another, and to the neighborhood. Many recent buyers had rented in the neighborhood prior to purchasing their homes. Many were raised in the Minot neighborhood or nearby parts of Dorchester, some by parents who were themselves long-time residents of the area. Frequently respondents would comment, "My parents live four blocks from here," or "My husband grew up right around the corner." One elderly woman remarked, "I've lived here all my life. I'll be here 'til I die." Having such extensive ties to the people and the surroundings, it is not surprising that residents express a strong desire to protect the area from outsiders. One woman asserted, "People are going to hold on to this neighborhood. They'll pass their properties on to their sons and daughters as they have in the past."

The form in which the housing market operates in the area is conducive to the stability many predict for the neighborhood. Many of the sales are to friends and relatives, and there is almost no use of realtors or broker transactions. Half of all

recent buyers obtained information by word of mouth, and none relied primarily on realtors for information. It was not unusual for people to tell us that they had purchased their home from a sister, brother or father, or that they had been living in it for years before the purchase. This is directly related to the high stability of the area and the fact that most buyers were already living here at the time of the purchase; they did not need to consult realtors. Such a process for homes changing hands tends to insure that outsiders, especially minority group members, will not become part of this network, and is an effective mechanism for keeping the neighborhood from changing in any way. For some, the prohibition of racial change in the area is a conscious one. One young woman who was raised in the neighborhood claimed, "People are protective of Dorchester. You know everyone and wouldn't sell your house to Blacks. People who are unsure of this area have been given confidence." Another respondent, a long-term resident, reiterated this view:

> "I think the neighborhood is on the improve. The City is is coming back up again. Ten years ago I thought this area had only five years before it would be all Black... Now I don't think it will happen...People are starting to stick together here like South Boston and Hyde Park."

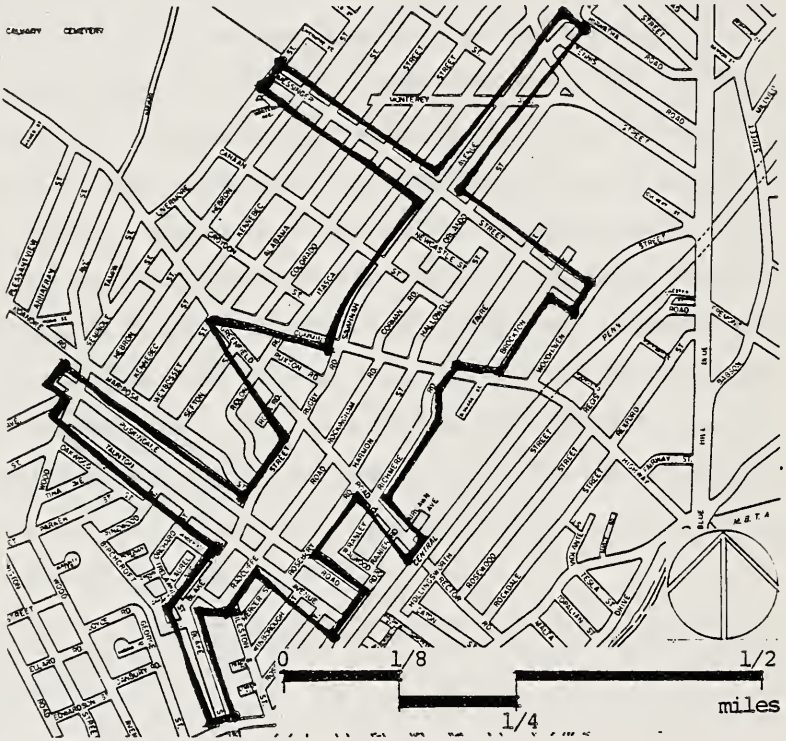
The role of community organizations

Most residents expressed a growing sense of confidence in the area's future population stability and its future housing condition. The source of this confidence, according to many, lies in the positive activities of local neighborhood associations.

Recently, some neighborhood residents have formed a group called "Stay in Neponset," which publishes a community newspaper called "Neponset Scene." This organization, as its name implies, is trying to point out the advantages of living in Neponset to the present residents, and aims to encourage them to remain in their present residences. Stay in Neponset has the potential to prevent neighborhood change by assuring people that there is a community organization that will address their issues, and that values the community the way it is now. The impact of the organization is widely felt in the community. One woman remarked, "SIN is getting people to stay. Before, people were going to the suburbs, but SIN is telling everyone not to leave." The effect is a renewed sense of optimism which strengthens the commitment of area residents. One woman indicated, "I have a funny feeling it's getting better here...There seems to be more people interested in keeping the neighborhood good."

SAVANNAH-TAUNTON

A district of rapid racial change that has endured supposed blockbusting activity by real estate brokers. Confidence is low on the part of long-term residents and medium among recent buyers. All long-term residents are white; all recent buyers, Black. The area and its suburban-style, single-family housing are in very good physical condition.



Savannah-Taunton is a neighborhood in transition. In 1970 only 2 per cent of the residents were Black. Today all the recent buyers are Black. Of the eleven areas studied, this one had the highest rate of turnover, and in the recent past there were almost three times as many houses sold in this neighborhood

every year as in all other project areas.

Savannah-Taunton straddles the Mattapan and Hyde Park neighborhoods of Boston and is not a "natural" neighborhood. The boundaries were set, for the purposes of this project, to include several streets where there had been a high volume of home sales and allegations of blockbusting. It is large in comparison with other study areas, and in 1970 had a population of about 3800 people. The well-maintained houses, mostly single-family dwellings, are newer than homes in other areas of Boston, and there are fewer three-deckers. This is the most suburban-looking area of the eleven studied, with many newer ranch houses set on grassy plots of land, and many of the streets lack sidewalks.

There are more people with professional and managerial occupations among the recent buyers than among the long-term residents. The occupations of the recent buyers are evenly divided between the professional and managerial jobs (white collar), operatives and craftspeople (blue collar).

The long-term respondents are either service workers, housewives or retired people, with very few in other occupational categories. The spouses of long-term residents have clerical, operative or service jobs, or are housewives or retired. The recent buyer group has a higher proportion of working women than do the long-term residents.

Low neighborhood confidence

This is an area of comparatively low neighborhood confidence on the part of the long-term residents (9th among study areas)

and of medium confidence by recent buyers (6th). Long-term residents and recent buyers occupy different communities of attitude that share the same physical space. While long-term residents rank consistently low in their responses to survey questions about confidence, recent buyers showed considerable optimism in their perception that property values were increasing and in their propensity to say they would repeat their decision to buy a home in the area.

The overall confidence level of recent buyers is reduced by the high proportion of them who anticipate moving. Because a high percentage of recent buyers in Savannah-Taunton are professionals, this greater tendency to anticipate moving out may indicate their socio-economic mobility more than a dissatisfaction with their present place of residence.

Long-term residents express a variety of opinions about the recent neighborhood transition. One Irish resident said that, "Integration has caused panic and a lot of racial friction," while a neighbor stated that "the Blacks do take care of their property, in fact they're improving it." Several long-term residents decried what they see as the negative effect of busing: "People moved out because of busing and Blacks moved in." There was a consensus among white residents that, although the rapidity of the transition has left the area reeling, the new residents were visibly maintaining their property. One person summarized several of the salient issues:

"The colored are coming in too fast. If the whites won't

> sell, the colored won't move in. There are many nice colored. I'm a little nervous, but the Blacks are keeping up their property. The colored are lovely, but they lower prices. I'd like the whites to hold on to their homes."

There is some evidence that the rapid turnover of homes in the area was caused by "blockbusting," real estate brokers encouraging panic selling on the part of white homeowners by feeding their fears about Blacks moving into an area. Several of the white long-term residents mentioned that they had been approached by a realtor offering to broker a sale, and stating openly that the sale would be to Blacks. A long-term resident said, "One real estate man approached me offering to buy my house. I asked him who would he sell to and he said, 'Blacks, of course. Who else?'"

Although many white residents have left the area, there is a feeling on the part of those who stayed that the future of the neighborhood is in their hands, and they plan to stay. Not everyone was as emphatic as the older woman who said, "We want to live here 'til we die," but some did recognize that, "If not many people move out it will stay the same." Some said that their old neighbors who moved out were sorry that they had moved; others said that, "the people selling would have moved anyway, they were glad for an excuse; they were old people and their houses were too big."

Some residents express a nostalgia for "the way it was," but realize that the area is unlikely to return to its past population composition. The people say that "the new arrivals are keeping up their property and accepting middle-class values.

I'd like it integrated, but not to turn all Black."

There is a range of perceptions among the long-term residents of what the future holds for their neighborhood. Both survey data and the impressions of the interviewers indicate that some people feel within a few years that the area will be all Black, but there is a high degree of uncertainty. The white residents are not all preparing to move. Those who are still there are self-selected and are willing to live in an integrated area, at least for a while. Some did say that they would move if they felt they could get a good price for their house, but no more or fewer long-term residents of this area anticipate moving in the next several years than do long-term residents in our other study areas. This may mean that those who were going to leave have already left, and those who have remained are here to stay.

Mobile recent buyers

Among the Black residents who have just bought homes in this area of Hyde Park-Mattapan, there is a feeling of "moving up." They say, "We were looking for better schools, a quiet neighborhood, and a single-family house." Many of the recent buyers were looking for an integrated area with both Blacks and whites, and wanted to know if the neighbors would accept Black people. "This place is really for the children," they emphasize, and add "There are no racial barriers here. You can sit on the back porch without hearing abuse."

Some moved to Savannah-Taunton because they "wanted to get

away from Roxbury," and they know that there is some racial friction here. One said, "The old people here don't like my kids, but basically I don't care," and another respondent has had her car windows broken several times. They are aware that, "The whites are moving out" and "the Blacks are moving in droves," although one recent Black buyer said that, "The neighborhood was undergoing a transition a while ago, but now it's stabilized."

Recent buyers in Savannah-Taunton relied on real estate brokers for their information about the neighborhood at approximately twice the rate of recent buyers in other Boston neighborhoods. One Black woman asked rhetorically, "Why did the realtor only show me houses in this shabby community?" Others said that "The realtor had quite a bit to do with it," and that the real estate brokers also brokered the mortgage loan, which was -- for one woman burned out a house in Roxbury -- a 100 per cent mortgage. This information is consistent with allegations of blockbusting.

The recent buyers are conscious of pressure to maintain their homes, saying that "The Blacks are keeping the houses up to stem the negative Black image," although at least one Black thought that "property values will eventually drop because there's lots of misunderstanding." Reasons given for Blacks maintaining their homes include the feeling that, "They've never had their own homes before. They have pride in their homes." One resident said, "A lot of people have struggled to get where they are. They're proud of having their own home."

Many of the Black recent buyers hope that the area will not become all Black, but will stay racially mixed, as it was when they purchased there. They want an area that is "racially comfortable," feeling that "it's fine like it is."

Both white and Black residents hope that fears and prejudices will not lead to a totally Black neighborhood in the near future. Over half of the whites exhibitied at least average levels of confidence in their neighborhood, and many might agree with the white residents who said emphatically, "I don't care what color a good person is, I like racial mix. We can live together."

Negative perception of the media

People in Savannah-Taunton, both Black and white, are the only residents who, as a group, feel that media coverage is in general negative. This reflects their feeling that the media only chooses negative stories to cover, or that they remember only instances of negative coverage.

One Black resident said, "I think the news is negative. I haven't experienced the things the press writes about." Another Black resident said, about coverage of the busing issue, "I think the media incites trouble. If the cameras and reporters weren't there, the kids could have gone to school." An Irish resident said that "The media was responsible for inciting a lot of people against Mattapan with the busing."

Summary

The five neighborhoods described above illustrate major themes with respect to neighborhood confidence. They exhibit a considerable variety of combinations of confidence level, physical condition, population composition, and stability. Their striking differences with respect to residents' attitudes and perceptions confirm the importance of defining neighborhoods as being relatively small geographic units.

These capsule case studies emphasize the importance of community organizations in building and sustaining neighborhood confidence. Factors tied to greater neighborhood confidence include high agreement between long-term residents and recent buyers, class as well as racial homogeneity of population, and high rates of owner-occupancy.

Racial tensions are significant in some areas. We documented a fair amount of racial prejudice and racial friction, but also hopeful signs of racial tolerance and active interest in integration on the part of recent buyers in at least two areas.

V. PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE - VIEWS OF THE PAST AND OF THE FUTURE

In order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the components of neighborhood confidence we asked residents for their reactions to changes in their neighborhoods and for their hopes about future change. Recent buyers were considerably more optimistic about recent neighborhood changes than were long-term residents. A clear majority of the changes perceived by long-term residents were negative, while 75% of the changes mentioned by recent buyers were positive.

The most important causes of negative change were seen as the changing population of the neighborhood, vandalism and juvenile crime, and the departure of long-time residents. The forces for positive change were thought to be increased concern of residents for their neighborhoods and strong, active community organizations.

When residents were asked about the changes they would like to see in the future, many of them advocated physical and environmental improvements. Concern with the physical condition of the neighborhood was particularly pronounced in areas that are in only fair physical condition at present. Residents' other wishes for the future center around the social attributes of neighbors and hopes for neighborhood stability. They expressed less apprehension about security and crime than we had expected. Older residents were more concerned about the issue than were younger respondents.

Residents' perceptions of past changes (or lack of change)

and their desires for the future are in some way two parts of the same attitudinal dimension. The answers may reveal more about respondents' general sentiments than about how they actually feel about specific occurrences - whether these are events remembered from the past or hoped for in the future. Thus people's complaints about negative environmental changes parallel their desires for improvement in physical conditions in years to come. Another primary example of this is that some residents see "newcomers" as a negative influence, and they also express concern about the social characteristics of their neighbors in the future.

Views of the past

Events of the recent past strongly influence present and future confidence in a neighborhood. To help us understand the perceptions of residents about both the present and the future, and to assess changes in the neighborhoods over the past few years, we asked residents what they have seen happening in their neighborhood in past years (Table 5.1). We followed this up by asking all respondents why these changes had occurred, and when they had begun (Table 5.2).

Recent buyers' perceptions of the recent past are substantially more positive than are those of long-term residents. Fifty-nine per cent of the changes mentioned by the 175 long-term residents interviewed were negative. Only 28 per cent of the changes mentioned by recent buyers were negative.

The important differences between long-term residents'

and recent buyers' perceptions of change is a further reflection of the differences between these two groups that emerged in the measures used to determine overall ratings of neighborhood confidence. Perceptions of positive change among recent buyers are found most strongly in neighborhoods where recent buyers also saw property values as increasing.

Not surprisingly, the highest proportions of negative responses were found in neighborhoods with very low confidence (Chapter III, Table 3.5 : Ranking of Levels of Confidence in Ten Study Areas). Among recent buyers in Draper (8th in overall confidence), 59 per cent of all responses mentioned negative changes; in Sedgwick (7th in overall confidence), the proportion was 41 per cent; and in Sav-Mor 42 per cent were negative (even though Sav-Mor had the third highest confidence level among long-term residents).

Forty per cent of the responses from recent buyers indicated that there have been positive changes in the past few years, with the highest proportion of positive changes being reported in Melville-Park (68%) and the second highest proportion in Sav-Mor (46%). Sedgwick and Elm Hill, two areas with a high proportion of perceived negative changes and areas of medium confidence, report a high proportion of positive changes and a low proportion of neutral changes, which might also indicate a lack of stability. The data make it clear that many changes have occurred in these areas, some of which are perceived as positive and some as negative.

In some neighborhoods residents responded to the question "Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your

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neighborhood? What's different and what's the same?" with a predominance of answers indicating "no change" or changes that were neither positive nor negative. Neutral or "no changes" predominate among the responses in Sanford-Cedar (65%), Minot (54%) and Savannah-Taunton (52%).

Long-term residents in every neighborhood reported a high proportion of negative changes. The highest number were reported in Round Hill (76%), Cushing (76%), Draper (76%) and Elm Hill (64%). Long-term residents in Cushing have almost the lowest confidence in the sample and Draper is not much higher. Residents in Elm Hill and Round Hill have a medium to high level of confidence, yet perceive a large proportion of negative changes in their neighborhood.

As among recent buyers, long-term residents in Melville-Park perceive a high proportion of positive changes (46%), but that is much lower than the proportion of recent buyers who see positive change (68%) and almost equal to the number of negative changes perceived by long-term residents (41%).

Among long-term residents in Minot and Sanford-Cedar, the proportion of neutral changes is again high (68% and 45% respectively). Minot is a very stable, homogeneous area; Sanford-Cedar is the area with the lowest confidence rating among recent buyers and residents there have low confidence even though there have been few negative changes.

Most of the long-term residents interviewed thought that the changes had begun over five years ago (45%), although this varied among the neighborhoods. In Round Hill and Sedgwick, both in the larger district of Jamaica Plain,

people thought the changes began in the past two to three years and in Minot and Sanford-Cedar the changes were seen to have begun three to five years ago.

Perceived causes of neighborhood change

A look at the reasons why people think these changes have happened can help us understand their impacts on residents' confidence. The most frequently mentioned reason for negative change was newcomers (Table 5.2).

However, in the context of this survey "newcomer" might have served as a catchword for any newcomer of a different race. The three neighborhoods that showed the most significant negative feelings about newcomers have all experienced a high to medium degree of racial change. It must be cautioned that two of the neighborhoods with low racial stability do not show a higher than average level of negative response to newcomers. Differences in class may also cause some antagonism to newcomers. In Melville-Park, where a good deal of renovation has occurred, young professional people have moved in -- a change that some older residents perceive as negative because they feel that the new people are "snobs."

Newcomers may be perceived as a negative influence when they threaten the "sense of community." This is more likely to be true when new residents are different from old ones and are less likely to interact socially and politically. It must be noted that nine per cent of respondents stated that there was a beneficial influence from newcomers. A majority of those people citing positive attributes of newcomers were

Black and a majority of those who saw newcomers as a negative influence were white.

The second most frequently cited cause of negative change was vandalism, generally associated with juvenile crime. Vandalism is especially important in Sedgwick and Elm Hill. The survey was conducted during the summer in areas of high youth unemployment, and 12 to 27 per cent of the respondents in the neighborhoods of Sanford-Cedar, Sedgwick, Elm Hill, Minot, Round Hill, and Draper mentioned this problem.

Another relatively important reason cited for negative change is the departure of long-term residents, the flip side of the coin attributing negative influence to newcomers. Political inattention is perceived as more important in the Roxbury neighborhoods of Elm Hill and Sav-Mor than elsewhere (Table 5.2).

Other negative causes of neighborhood change voiced by survey respondents include drug problems, schools and busing, deterioration of specific buildings and vacant lots. These reasons for change were stated frequently in Cushing, Minot and Sedgwick.

According to many residents, positive changes are a result of people becoming more concerned with the conditions and problems of their neighborhoods. This feeling was an important aspect of people's perceptions in Sedgwick, Elm Hill and Melville-Park. For residents of Melville-Park there was a feeling that the potential of the area was being recognized, and responses there indicated that the rediscovery of

the area had brought about beneficial changes. Positive changes are seen as being connected to individuals and communities, and references to these inputs highlight the importance of building confidence through the actions of community organizations. The "sense of community" and "sense of neighborhood" in some of the most physically deteriorated neighborhoods could be an important factor explaining why confidence is higher than expected. This is especially true in the Roxbury areas of Elm Hill and Sav-Mor. The social cohesion of those Black communities influences people to express higher confidence than the physical conditions of the neighborhood might otherwise warrant.

Among long-term residents there is a slight difference between racial groups in perceptions of change in the neighborhoods. Slightly more whites than Blacks perceive negative changes in their neighborhoods, and slightly more Blacks than whites see positive changes in their areas in the past few years (see Table 5.3). There are larger differences between races among the recent buyers. Forty-two per cent of white new residents and 28 per cent of Blacks think that recent changes have been positive, whereas 18 per cent of whites and 21 per cent of Blacks think they have been negative. Roughly half of both Black and white residents think changes have been neutral (see Table 5.3). Hispanic residents are more pessimistic than their Black and white neighbors. All of their responses indicated that they perceived changes in their areas as being either negative or neutral.

Views of the future

We asked residents of our 11 study neighborhoods what they would like their neighborhoods to be like in the future (Tables 5.5 and 5.6), and what they would suggest that city government do to improve their neighborhood (Table 5.7). These questions sought to discover ideas for improvement, and to find possible strategies for improving life in the neighborhoods and increasing neighborhood confidence. Responses to these questions are consistent with patterns discovered in the other sections of the survey; they confirm and supplement other conclusions and recommendations made in this report.

Almost half of all responses to these questions centered around physical and environmental issues, including traffic improvements. Concern with the physical environment is most pronounced in Round Hill, Sedgwick, Sav-Mor, Cushing, and Draper. It is slightly less important in Elm Hill. The areas listed above include the Jamaica Plain and Roxbury neighborhoods and the neighborhoods in northern Dorchester, all of which are in only fair physical condition. It is not surprising that areas in better physical condition are not as concerned with the environment.

The second most prevalent concern among residents is with the social attributes of their neighbors. This confirms the previously discussed feeling that the arrival of newcomers in a neighborhood has influenced its destiny.

Concern with security is not as important as some might

think, and as other research has suggested. Responses to the "dream" question , "What would you like your neighborhood to be like" (Table 5.6) and to the question "What would you recommend to the city," (Table 5.7) elicited 10 per cent and 14 per cent (respectively) of responses concerned with security. This issue is clearly on people's minds and is most important in the neighborhoods where the environment is a large problem, but is not the overwhelming concern of residents. Much more important are the previously discussed physical and social concerns with which crime is associated. Preoccupation with crime and security is more prevalent among the older long-term residents and less important to the generally younger recent buyers.

People's desires for residential stability and their hopes that neighborhoods will not change came out strongly in long-term residents' responses to the question, "What would you like your neighborhood to be like three years from now?" (Tables 5.5 and 5.6). Almost a third of all respondents would like their neighborhood to remain unchanged and, not surprisingly, Minot heads the list. In Minot 86 per cent of long-term residents and 60 per cent of recent buyers would like the neighborhood to remain the same. Although Sanford-Cedar has very low confidence, it is surprisingly second, with 60 per cent of long-termers and 69 per cent of recent buyers wanting it to remain unchanged. Stability is also desired in Melville-Park and in Savannah-Taunton. Overall, long-term residents hope more for stability than anything else, while for recent buyers this wish ranks second.

Summary

The issues that emerge as most important to residents of our study neighborhoods are environmental and physical quality, "good" neighbors and a desire for what might be best expressed as "peace and quiet." Recent buyers are considerably more optimistic about their neighborhoods than are long-term residents. Residents' hopes for the future seem to call for specific improvements in their neighborhoods rather than major overhauls. Improvements in environmental quality, including traffic, would make a big difference in people's attitudes toward their neighborhoods.

Residents tend to want either particular improvements or maintenance of the status quo. Long-term neighborhood inhabitants are more likely to want a future without change. In some areas, people want maintenance of the status quo and perceive few positive changes as having occurred in the recent past. In these cases the view of "no change" in the past coupled with a desire for no change in the future reflects high resident satisfaction. Lack of perceived positive changes does not necessarily reveal a pessimistic view of a neighborhood. For example, only five per cent of Minot's residents said that there have been positive changes in recent years, yet Minot ranks highest in neighborhood confidence among all the study areas. This seeming anomaly is explained when the answers to the question that look to the issue of neighborhood stability are also examined. More than half of the respondents from Minot felt that there had been no change in the neighborhood, and three quarters of

the respondents hoped for no change in the future. The neighborhood is apparently much as the people who live there want it, and therefore stability can be an important source of neighborhood confidence.

VI. PROCESSES OF BUYING A HOME AND CHOOSING A NEIGHBORHOOD

The Neighborhood Confidence Survey was designed in part to guide the City's efforts at building confidence in Boston neighborhoods. To fulfill this purpose we asked, "Who is buying homes in Boston neighborhoods? What sources of information do these buyers rely on? What factors influenced their decisions?"

The majority of recent buyers in the ten neighborhoods surveyed were Boston residents prior to their purchase of a home; only 16 per cent of the respondents came to Boston from either the suburbs or other cities. Melville-Park is the only neighborhood that has been noticeably affected by "Back to the City" buyers. More than 50 per cent of the people interviewed lived in the same neighborhood prior to buying their present home. The survey indicates that the largest market for homes in Boston's neighborhoods lies with people who already live in local neighborhoods.

The most important factors influencing the choice of a particular neighborhood were physical and environmental quality, familiarity with the neighborhood, the price of the home, and the characteristics of the specific house. The majority of respondents indicated that they had not specifically considered negative factors when choosing a neighborhood. The negative factor most frequently mentioned was the proximity of "bad areas."

Sources of information on which home buyers relied were

largely prior familiarity with the neighborhood, and friends or relatives who lived in the area. Neighborhoods vary considerably in terms of how important real estate brokers are as a source of information for new buyers.

Most of the people buying homes in the neighborhoods we examined chose a neighborhood before choosing a home. The majority of respondents had looked in only one location for a home, and only one-quarter had considered looking for homes outside of Boston.

Recent buyers tend to be people already living in Boston

The survey questioned recent buyers on the location of their previous residence (Table 6.1) and the issues concerning them as they looked for and decided to buy their present home (Tables 6.3, 6.5, and 6.7). A large majority (84%) of home buyers in the study areas were Boston residents before choosing their current home. Another 8 per cent had moved from the suburbs and the remaining 8 per cent were from other areas in the state or from outside of Massachusetts. Not only did the buyers come mainly from Boston, but more than half of them remained in the same neighborhood.

The highest proportion of residents whose previous residence is in the same area as their current one occurred in Minot, where 85 per cent of the recent buyers lived in the area before their recent home purchase. Two-thirds of Sav-Mor's recent buyers reported previous residence in the same area. In only two neighborhoods was the figure less than 50 per cent - Round Hill (20%) and Savannah-Taunton (39%).

Of all 166 recent buyers answering this question, only 14 respondents reported that they had previously lived in the suburbs. Six of those 14 were home-owners in the Melville-Park area and three lived in Sanford-Cedar.

Although the survey did not trace the location of buyers prior to their last move, it seems safe to assume that most of those reporting prior Boston addresses were not new to the area. This seems reasonable in light of the fact that almost one-third of the respondents owned their last residence, and 60 per cent of those previous owners had purchased their next home in the same neighborhood. In contrast to this figure, only 30 per cent of those respondents whose previous residence was in the suburbs had been owners of their suburban residences.

The survey figures document a significant "Back to the City" movement in only one of the study areas, Melville-Park. While our information does not deny the existence of a "Back to the City" flow, it does suggest the importance of continuing to pay attention to the great proportion of home buyers who are already city residents, or "city stickers." During another period, some of these city stickers might have moved to the suburbs. They might therefore be considered part of a return-to-the-city pattern.

In spite of the fact that central city home purchases by former or prospective suburbanites can do a great deal to bolster local neighborhood confidence, the housing investment of present city residents is the most important component of neighborhood housing markets. The "Back to the

City" movement is interesting because it runs counter to a strong established trend, but city stickers continue to make up by far the largest proportion of the home buying population, especially in less affluent neighborhoods.

Recent buyers in the Boston neighborhoods are people who have lived in the area and are familiar with it (Table 6.2). In the less confident neighborhoods (such as Round Hill and Sanford-Cedar) there is less previous ownership than in the more confident areas (such as Minot and Melville-Park). This may indicate that people buying in areas of low confidence are not aware of neighborhood problems or feel that they have no better options, and that people in confident neighborhoods know a good thing when they see it.

When asked how they happened to consider moving into their neighborhood (Table 6.3), recent buyers cited physical and environmental factors as the most important reason (17% of reasons cited). Sixteen per cent of the responses involved familiarity with the neighborhood. The price of homes and house characteristics were mentioned in less than 25 per cent of the responses and only 3 per cent of the responses indicated that a real estate broker played a role in the buyers' first consideration of an area. The latter two findings might be attributed to the high incidence of relocation in the same area discussed above.

The majority of recent buyers reported that they did not consider any negative aspects when deciding to move into their neighborhood (Table 6.4). However, of those who did consider negative aspects, the prime concerns were proximity

to "bad areas" and racial issues. Racial issues were of equal concern to Blacks and whites (13% each), with whites being slightly more concerned with being near a "bad area" than Blacks. "Bad," however, was not defined and could have been used as a euphemism for Black, poor or lower-class areas.

Things recent buyers wanted to know about neighborhoods they were considering

Due to the high incidence of relocation in the same neighborhood, 35 per cent of the responses about things that recent buyers wanted to know indicated that the respondents were already familiar with their neighborhood (Table 6.5). Where people were unfamiliar with the area, they wanted to know about the attributes of neighborhood residents. This issue was particularly important to residents of Savannah-Taunton and Draper, and was not mentioned by any of the respondents from Elm Hill. Buyers also wanted to know about security and safety. Responses in Elm Hill and Cushing were mainly concerned with access, and in Draper and Sedgwick recent buyers wanted to know about residents' attitudes. Only six per cent of the respondents said they wanted to know about schools, perhaps because the great majority of recent buyers were already familiar with Boston's schools.

Home buyers' sources of information

When asked how they found out the things they wanted to know about a potential neighborhood, many of the respondents (29%) mentioned that they were already familiar with the area

(Table 6.6). Other people found answers to their questions from friends in the area. Seventeen per cent relied on real estate brokers for information and 11 per cent of the respondents indicated that they looked around on their own. Only three respondents said they obtained information from a city agency. In summary, almost three-fourths of the respondents relied on their own resources to learn about the area in which they were purchasing a home.

Other places recent buyers considered looking

The majority of recent buyers reported looking at only one location when buying their homes; 20 per cent looked at only two (Table 6.10). Of those people who searched in more than one area, the majority looked primarily in Boston neighborhoods (Table 6.9). Slightly more than one-quarter of the respondents indicated that they had considered the suburbs. These responses were concentrated in a few neighborhoods, particularly Melville-Park and Minot. In only five instances did respondents indicate that they had looked in more than three locations.

Summary

The majority of people buying homes in Boston's neighborhoods are already residents of those neighborhoods. For those people who buy homes in areas they are not familiar with, the most influential factors are physical and environmental quality, the price of the home, and the characteristics of the particular house. Responses to our survey indicate that most people choose a neighborhood before choosing a home,

and that their choice of a neighborhood results more from personal contacts or influences than from methodical searching or from less personal sources of information such as real estate brokers. People seem very interested in staying where they are. Notwithstanding the problems of their neighborhoods, familiarity seems to breed loyalty rather than contempt.

VII. HOME MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

We expected that levels and types of investment would be important behavioral indicators of neighborhood confidence. To measure this we asked people about home repairs they had done in the recent past and repairs they were planning to make in the near future. We thought that observing different degrees of repair activity would distinguish the levels of confidence in various neighborhoods. In fact, a majority of all categories of respondents in all neighborhoods were repairing their homes regularly and we could not distinguish among the neighborhoods in this way.

Notwithstanding the similarity in actual maintenance and repair practices, there are substantial differences in residents' perceptions of rates of repair in their areas. Residents of the various neighborhoods think that their neighbors are repairing and maintaining at different rates, ranging from the unanimous perception in one area that neighbors are keeping up their property to only 41 per cent of the residents in another who think that their neighbors are repairing and maintaining their property.

Perceptions of home maintenance

Long-term residents and recent buyers are fairly close in their perceptions of whether neighborhood residents are maintaining their property (Table 7.1). About two-thirds of both groups feel that their neighbors are maintaining or

improving their property. Twelve per cent of the long-term residents felt that their neighbors were "letting things go:" only four per cent of the recent buyers had this response. There was substantial variation, however, among neighborhoods on this point.

Although the analytical line dividing a response of "maintaining" from one of "improving" is unclear, we felt that either response indicated a degree of confidence in the quality of the neighborhood. Our reading of the data collected on this issue therefore combines the answers "maintaining" and "improving."

In the highest confidence area, Minot, 92 per cent of long-term residents and 95 per cent of the recent buyers think that the people in their neighborhood are maintaining or improving their property. In Melville-Park, the second most confident area, the comparable figures are 100 per cent of long-term residents and 96 per cent of recent buyers.

In the least confident areas, Round Hill and Sanford-Cedar, a much lower proportion of residents perceive that people are maintaining or improving their property, and many more people believe that their neighbors are letting their property go. Among long-term residents of Round Hill, only 41 per cent think that people are maintaining or improving, and 33 per cent think that their neighbors are letting their property go. In the less confident neighborhoods, maintaining is often phrased as "just maintaining." Among the recent buyers in Round Hill, 50 per cent believe that people are maintaining and improving,

10 per cent think that people are letting go, and a sizeable 40 per cent perceive that half are maintaining and half are letting their property go.

In Sanford-Cedar, the least confident area among recent buyers, the figures are unusual. Eighty-nine per cent of long-term residents and 100 per cent of recent buyers think that people are maintaining or improving their property. Only 11 per cent of the long-term residents think that people are letting their property go. This unexpected finding re-emphasizes the lack of close association between physical condition and confidence. This area has a good external appearance and people perceive that their neighbors are investing in maintenance and repair of their property (and are supported by our data on repairs), yet the recent buyers here have the lowest confidence of any of our study neighborhoods. The low confidence in Sanford-Cedar may be a result of fears of rapid racial change, although to date the area remains predominantly white. (Table 7.2).

Rates of repair and improvement

A high proportion of all residents surveyed have made repairs and improvements to their homes within the past few years. There is a slightly greater likelihood that recent buyers have made repairs since moving in (90%) than that long-term residents have done so in the past three years (82%). The highest rates of repairs by recent buyers existed in Melville-Park (100%) and Sav-Mor (95%), and the lowest in Draper (82%). Long-term residents have been repairing at the highest

rates in Savannah-Taunton and Round Hill (over 90% in both cases), and at the lowest rate in Draper (less than 70%).

TABLE 7.3: PROPORTION OF RESIDENTS WHO HAVE RECENTLY REPAIRED THEIR HOMES

	Long-Term Residents		Recent Buyers	
Study area	%	No. of responses	%	No. of responses
Round Hill	93%	(13)	90%	(9)
Sedgwick	75	(12)	87	(14)
Elm Hill	87	(14)	85	(11)
Sav-Mor	86	(18)	95	(19)
Cushing	88	(15)	83	(10)
Draper	68	(13)	82	(9)
Melville-Park	79	(15)	100	(21)
Minot	73	(16)	90	(18)
Sanford-Cedar	78	(14)	89	(16)
Savannah-Taunton	91	(21)	88	(15)
TOTAL	82%	(151)	90%	(142)

There is very little difference between the types of repairs done by long-term residents and recent buyers (Table 7.4). The major difference is the greater volume of major interior changes that recent buyers have undertaken. This consists primarily of remodeling rooms, an activity presumably more frequent among people who have recently taken possession of a home. Regular maintenance of the interior accounts for about 45 per cent of all repair work; repair of interior and exterior defects each account for about 13 per cent of the work. We defined "regular

maintenance" as painting and papering walls and other routine tasks; repairing defects was defined as fixing plumbing and rewiring faulty wiring; and major changes consisted of things like remodeling entire rooms, adding rooms, or making other structural changes. There are some differences among neighborhoods in the type of repair activity.

The vast majority of all the regular maintenance that was reported was done to the interior of structures (Table 7.5). Regular maintenance on the exterior of homes by long-term residents was most prevalent in Savannah-Taunton and Sanford-Cedar, and by recent buyers in Draper, Edson-Torrey and Sanford-Cedar.

The number of people repairing defects is much smaller (only 48 long-term residents and 45 recent buyers) than the number who have undertaken regular maintenance (Table 7.6). Repairs of defects are almost evenly divided between interior and exterior work, though neighborhoods seem to vary.

Regular maintenance and major changes are most frequently done inside the structure, but defects are repaired almost evenly inside and outside the building (Tables 7.5, 7.6, and 7.7). The fact that there is only one "exterior" to a structure -- i.e., one roof, one set of siding -- and many different rooms explains the difference in number of interior and exterior repairs.

The interior of a structure is only visible to people who enter the house; exteriors are in the common domain and make an impression on anyone passing by. The amount of work that

is put into homes has implications for the development, or maintenance, of "confidence." Exterior painting, which is particularly visible and would be considered "regular maintenance", was done so infrequently that we could not code it as a response. If one element of retaining or building confidence in an area is the extent to which people see others working on and investing in their homes, then these neighborhoods suffer because the true degree of reinvestment is not visible. It lies instead in the private domain, inside the structures themselves.

Reasons for repair

The most important reason given as the impetus to repair was that the work "was necessary" (Table 7.8). One hundred forty respondents gave us 175 reasons for repairing and 38 per cent of that total indicated need as the reason. Discretionary repairs were the second most frequent cited. A much smaller percentage indicated that they repaired or made improvements in order to protect their investment. A significant number of respondents said, "We did it because it's ours," confirmation of the importance of owner-occupancy. The breakdown by neighborhood is shown in Table 7.8, which follows.

The explanation that repairs were needed was most important for long-term residents in Draper, Sav-Mor and Cushing, and in Minot and Elm Hill among recent buyers. Long-term residents made the most discretionary repairs in Savannah-Taunton, Sandord-Cedar and Round Hill, and recent buyers in

TABLE 7.8 : REASONS FOR REPAIRS

	Long-Term Residents								Recent Buyers							
	Needed		Discre-tionary		Owner Occup.		Finan-cial		Needed		Discre-tionary		Owner Occup.		Finan-cial	
Study area	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)	%	(#)
Round Hill	50%	(6)	50%	(6)	0%	(0)	0%	(0)	0%	(0)	20%	(1)	20%	(1)	60%	(3)
Sedgwick	12	(1)	37	(3)	25	(2)	12	(1)	20	(2)	50	(5)	20	(2)	10	(1)
Elm Hill	47	(9)	10	(2)	37	(7)	5	(1)	50	(4)	0	(0)	25	(2)	25	(2)
Sav-Mor	63	(12)	10	(2)	16	(3)	10	(2)	14	(2)	50	(7)	14	(2)	21	(3)
Cushing	45	(7)	31	(4)	8	(1)	8	(1)	0	(0)	62	(5)	37	(3)	0	(0)
Draper	78	(7)	11	(1)	11	(1)	0	(0)	44	(4)	33	(3)	0	(0)	22	(2)
Melville-Park	48	(10)	24	(5)	19	(4)	9	(2)	41	(11)	37	(10)	15	(4)	7	(2)
Edson-Torrey	50	(7)	7	(1)	4	(2)	14	(2)	40	(2)	20	(1)	40	(2)	0	(0)
Minot	22	(4)	11	(2)	33	(6)	0	(0)	61	(14)	35	(8)	0	(0)	4	(1)
Sanford-Cedar	31	(5)	50	(8)	19	(3)	0	(0)	47	(8)	41	(7)	6	(1)	6	(1)
Savannah-Taunton	8	(2)	62	(16)	27	(7)	0	(0)	25	(2)	37	(3)	37	(3)	0	(0)
TOTAL	38%	(70)	30%	(50)	21%	(36)	5%	(9)	37%	(49)	37%	(50)	15%	(20)	11%	(15) *

* These totals do not add up to 100% because we have excluded "other" reasons.

Cushing, Sedgwick and Sav-Mor. Overall, long-term residents are somewhat more likely to make repairs because they are necessary than because they want to (38% vs. 29%), whereas recent buyers are evenly split between those two categories.

The fact that repairs are "needed" may indicate poorer quality housing stock; it may also be an indicator of the quality standard of the repairer. Some owners know that repairs are necessary yet neglect to do them. Carrying out "discretionary" repairs may be a signal of a higher level of investment. A neighborhood with a greater number of discretionary repairs may indicate a higher level of confidence and investment than those areas where only necessary repairs are carried out.

People who responded that they repaired "because it's ours" (labeled "owner occupants" in Table 7.8) seemed almost surprised that we asked such a question. Their attitude was, "Of course we keep up our property just because it's ours." This particular attitude may indicate the highest level of confidence, where people do not question the maintenance of their property.

The motivations for repairing can vary according to the particular situations of respondents. Some people repair their homes because they want to live in a well-maintained space; some repair in preparation for selling the house; some repair just to make the home habitable; and some make continual cosmetic repairs as a hobby.

There are also a variety of reasons why people refrain

from repairing. They may not repair because they do not want to invest any more money in their home due to low confidence and are truly "disinvesting;" they may have done many repairs recently and are "finished;" or residents may want to repair but be unable to afford it.

These mixed motivations are masked by a question that requires a simple "yes" or "no" answer. In addition, the baseline condition of the houses is unknown. A respondent who lives in an immaculate, well-kept home who says they do not plan to repair may be classified in a low-confidence category along with a person living in an extremely deteriorated unit who will not sink a penny into the home. We therefore present the data on repairs in terms of rates of repair, but caution should be used in interpreting the results.

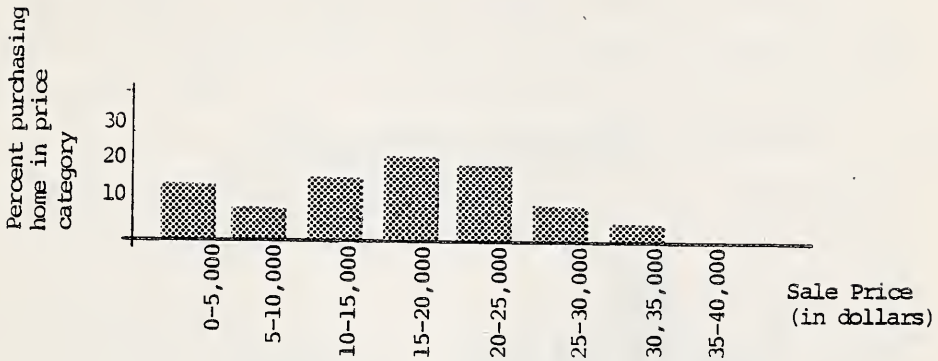
Repairs in relation to the value of the house

We have examined the relationship between the prices of a house and the repairs and maintenance that are performed on that dwelling. The following discussion of this relationship looks only at recent buyers and their homes.

The prices paid by recent buyers for their homes in the ten study neighborhoods are shown below (Graph 7.1).

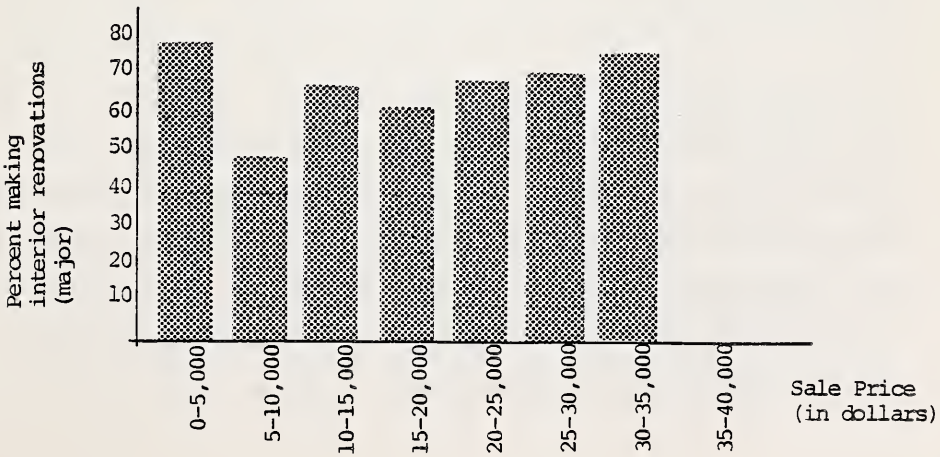
The number of new buyers making major interior renovations to their homes is significant. Well over 50 per cent of the respondents indicated that interior work had been completed or was planned in their homes. As Graph 7.2 illustrates, the percentage of people making major renovations is not directly

GRAPH 7.1: PURCHASE PRICE OF RECENT BUYER'S HOMES



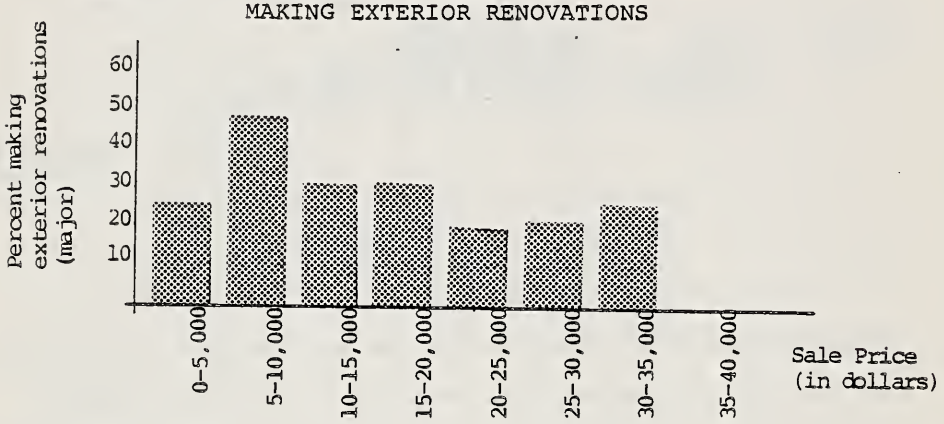
linked to the cost of the home. The only group of people who had not made any renovations were the very few who had purchased homes for more than $35,000. Many of the people (almost 80%) who bought homes for less than $5,000 indicated that they

GRAPH 7.2: PER CENT OF RECENT BUYERS MAKING MAJOR INTERIOR RENOVATIONS



had done major work. This might indicate that their homes were in poor condition when they bought them or that the inexpensive purchase price allowed them to do extensive work.

GRAPH 7.3: PER CENT OF RECENT BUYERS MAKING EXTERIOR RENOVATIONS



The percentage of people making major exterior renovations on their homes is considerably lower than those making interior renovations (Graph 7.3). As discussed earlier, these different rates of interior and exterior work may indicate that neighborhoods look like they are in worse condition than they actually are. Some city-dwellers fear that a beautifully maintained exterior is an invitation to burglars and therefore deliberately shy away from exterior cosmetic work. One interesting feature that the graphs illustrate is that the people who bought homes in the $5,000-$10,000 range made fewer interior improvements and more exterior renovations than any other group.

As a final test of the repair work in relation to the price of the house, we compared the expected number of repairs for each price category with the actual number of repairs in that category (Table 7.9). The expected and the actual turned out to be very close. The greatest discrepancy between the two was 13 per cent (homes in the $20,000-25,000 range received 113 per cent of the expected repairs for that category). What these figures seem to indicate is that people are not finding bargains and then spending a lot of money on them in the expectation that they will quickly appreciate.

Summary

Although our survey indicates that there are fairly uniform rates of repair and maintenance in the neighborhoods studied, the perceptions of rates of repair vary among neighborhoods. Residents' feelings that their neighbors are keeping up their property is strongly tied to their level of neighborhood confidence. In those areas that suffer from a lack of neighborhood confidence, people think that their neighbors are not maintaining their property.

One reason that our survey reveals such high rates of repair lies in the fact that we interviewed owner-occupants almost exclusively. Low confidence areas where people think their neighbors are letting their property go may in fact have a much higher proportion of absentee landlords who are letting their property fall into disrepair. Neighborhoods with high confidence tend to have a greater rate of owner-occupancy and

therefore are more representative of the high repair rates that the survey uncovered in all the neighborhoods.

The greater rates of interior than exterior repairs that the survey revealed have implications for building and understanding neighborhood confidence. An area may in fact be experiencing much greater investment than its outward appearance indicates. Building neighborhood confidence may therefore have to be based on a different vision, literally, of what a healthy neighborhood looks like or, conversely, putting public support into painting and cleaning up of private residences to encourage neighborhood confidence.

The types of repairs performed by residents varied very little among neighborhoods and between long-term residents and recent buyers, with the one exception that recent buyers are more likely to undertake major interior changes. There is also no apparent correlation between the price of a house and the amount and kinds of repairs that owners will undertake. This is a sign that even in the least affluent neighborhoods surveyed, people are putting as much effort into maintaining and improving their homes as in the more financially comfortable areas.

VIII. USE OF, AND REACTIONS TO, THE PRINT AND BROADCAST MEDIA

Most of the neighborhood residents we interviewed regularly watch local TV news and read a daily newspaper. Readership of weekly neighborhood newspapers is lower, but about one-half of long-term residents and slightly fewer recent buyers do read a neighborhood weekly. In some neighborhoods, readership of the local weekly approaches that of the daily papers. Owners are much more likely to read the neighborhood press than are tenants.

People feel that newspaper coverage of their neighborhoods is more accurate than TV coverage, although a majority of the survey respondents gave positive assessments of TV coverage of their area.

Media consumption

Television. According to our survey about 80 per cent of all residents surveyed watch local TV news regularly (Tables 8.5 and 8.6). Channel 5 news was the most popular, with 25 per cent of all interviewees relying primarily on this station for televised news. Channel 4 was next with 17 per cent of all respondents. Channel 7 had 12 per cent and Channel 2 had 1 per cent. Twelve per cent of the residents surveyed did not have one preferred station, stating they switch around for their news. Long-term residents watched Channels 4 and 5 equally (19%), while 13 per cent specified Channel 7 and 12 per cent switched around. The recent buyers preferred Channel 5 by a 2 to 1

margin over 5's closest rival, Channel 4 (32% to 15%), with 11 per cent watching Channel 7 and another 11 per cent switching channels.

Radio. Eighty per cent of all residents interviewed said that they listened to the radio. The survey question did not specify radio news, but asked which station they listened to most frequently. WEEI (590 AM) had the largest listener audience with 11 per cent of all surveyed. WHDH was next with 9 per cent. However, more people said they listened to more than one station than those who specified a particular station.

Newspaper. Eighty-six per cent of the people surveyed read a daily newspaper (Table 8.1). Forty-five per cent read The Boston Globe, 19 per cent read the Herald American, and 21 per cent read both the Globe and the Herald. Weekly neighborhood newspapers are read by fewer residents (47% of those surveyed) (Table 8.2).

Perceptions of local TV news coverage

The survey attempted to discover peoples' views about TV, radio and newspaper coverage of their neighborhoods. We felt that peoples' attitudes toward Boston neighborhoods are often influenced by the media. The majority of respondents had a hard time answering the survey questions about the last TV news and newspaper articles they remembered seeing. We obtained usable responses from only 138 of the 376 respondents. We asked this group to assess the coverage of their neighborhood in each medium.

Reaction to TV news coverage was mixed (Table 8.7). People felt that TV news coverage was generally positive although not by a large margin. While 47 per cent of the long-term residents felt positive about TV coverage of their neighborhood, 39 per cent reacted negatively. Recent buyers felt slightly better about the coverage of their residential area, with 50 per cent feeling the coverage was accurate and positive, and 32 per cent reacting negatively. Approximately equal proportions of residents recall positive TV news stories about their neighborhood as recall negative TV coverage (Table 8.8).

In only three of the study neighborhoods was local TV coverage perceived as generally negative (Table 8.7). These areas included two of the most confident neighborhoods and one of the least confident. In Sav-Mor 42 per cent of all residents interviewed (both recent buyers and long-term residents) felt that the coverage was biased and somewhat negative, while only 38 per cent felt that it was positive. In Minot 55 per cent of those interviewed felt negatively about TV coverage while only 39 per cent reacted positively. In Savannah-Taunton 55 per cent reacted negatively while only 17 per cent felt positively about the local TV news coverage.

Of those who did remember a specific TV news story (Table 8.8), in three neighborhoods significantly more respondents remembered negative stories than positive. In Round Hill 29 per cent of those interviewed last saw a negative news story while only 17 per cent saw a positive one. In Elm Hill 21 per cent recalled a negative one while only 4 per cent remembered a

positive story. In Cushing residents' remembered 19 per cent negative and 15 per cent positive stories. And finally, in Savannah-Taunton 19 per cent last saw negative stories with only 8 per cent remembering positive ones. It is interesting to note that only in Savannah-Taunton was the reaction to both specific news stories and general TV news coverage negative. This perhaps reflects the recent experience of that area with charges of blockbusting and rapid racial change.

Analysis of newspaper readership

Slightly more long-term residents (89%) read daily papers than do recent buyers (83%) (Table 8.1). Recent buyers prefer the Globe (53%) to the Herald (17%), while 13 per cent read both. Long-term residents also favor the Globe (39%), but not by as large a margin as the recent buyers, since 22 per cent of long-term residents read the Herald. More long-term residents (27%) read both papers.

Long-term residents are somewhat more likely to read weekly neighborhood newspapers than are recent buyers (51% vs. 42%; Table 8.2). In a few specific neighborhoods, however, these neighborhood papers are read by a considerable proportion of residents (long-term and recent buyers): Minot, 72 per cent; Sedgwick, 68 per cent; Elm Hill, 56 per cent; and Edson-Torrey, 52 per cent. In certain neighborhoods long-term residents account for most of the readership of the neighborhood weeklies: Round Hill, 75 per cent (recent buyers, 10%); and Melville-Park, 56 per cent (recent buyers, 32%). In only two neighborhoods do

recent buyers read weekly neighborhood papers in proportions equal to, or greater than, long-term residents: Sedgwick, 69 per cent (long-term residents, 67%); and in Minot where 74 per cent of the recent buyers and 70 per cent of the long-term residents read weekly neighborhood newspapers.

The neighborhood newspapers read correspond to the geographical boundaries and racial makeup of the study area. Thus in Round Hill and Sedgwick the most popular paper is the Jamaica Plain Citizen. In Elm Hill and Sav-Mor people read the Bay State Banner, along with some readers in Edson-Torrey and Savannah-Taunton. In Cushing, Draper, Melville-Park, Edson-Torrey and Minot the most popular neighborhood paper is the Dorchester Argus Citizen. Among the study areas, Stay in Neponset is read only by people in Minot where it is almost as widely read as the Dorchester Argus Citizen (31% vs. 41%).

In general, more homeowners read neighborhood newspapers than do renters (72% to 25%). Of those we interviewed who responded to this question, seventy-four per cent were homeowners while 25 per cent rented. Although a smaller proportion of residents read weekly neighborhood papers than the dailies, the fact that half the respondents regularly read these weeklies is striking. According to the Hart survey, residents see the weeklies as presenting a more positive perspective on their neighborhoods.

Perceptions of local newspaper coverage

People tend to feel that newspaper coverage of their neighborhood is more accurate than TV coverage (Table 8.9). By an almost 2 to 1 margin (49% to 28%) recent buyers felt more positive than negative about newspaper coverage. The corresponding rate among long-term residents is 69 per cent to 11 per cent. Residents feel fairly positive about local newspaper coverage (weekly and daily), with Elm Hill being the only neighborhood that feels this coverage is generally negative.

Notwithstanding these generally positive feelings about coverage, when asked about the last article read more recent buyers remembered negative articles than positive ones (Table 8.4). Long-term residents remembered the same number of negative and positive articles. In only four neighborhoods were more positive newspaper articles remembered than negative ones; Cushing, Edson-Torrey, Draper and Minot. In the rest of the neighborhoods people tended to remember negative articles.

Summary

Most neighborhood residents regularly watch TV news and read a daily newspaper. While fewer people read a neighborhood weekly paper, the neighborhood press does reach a large number of residents, especially homeowners. These papers are an especially important source for positive coverage of local neighborhoods.

While a majority of residents gave both TV and newspaper coverage of their neighborhoods a positive evaluation, a consi-

derable proportion criticized the accuracy of both print and broadcast media coverage. Both long-term and new residents were more critical of TV coverage than newspaper reporting on their area.

IX. RESPONSE TO PROJECT ACTIVITIES

The Neighborhood Confidence Project assumed that media images of Boston neighborhoods influenced the perceptions of residents of those neighborhoods as well as the attitudes of outsiders. In particular, TV images were felt to have a strong, pervasive effect in this regard. The project staff believed that negative images of one's neighborhood on TV undermined the building of confidence. Therefore, in a series of activities including house tours, conferences, the production of a TV show and the creation of posters about certain neighborhoods, the project staff attempted to counteract some of the more negative media images of certain Boston neighborhoods. Our survey sought public reactions to two project interventions: production of an hour-long TV documentary, and the printing and distribution of two posters - one of Dorchester and the other of Jamaica Plain. Reactions to both the TV program and posters were generally positive, with the TV show having a wider audience than the posters. Both efforts received some occasional criticism for presenting what some people considered to be overly favorable pictures of the neighborhoods involved.

"Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park"

This television program was co-produced by Public Interest Communications Service (PICS) and WNAC-TV. After completing

research, interviews and filming the producers presented a show that combined taped interviews and panoramas of the Melville-Park neighborhood with live segments filmed inside one of the old Victorian homes in the area. The live portions were interviews of local residents hosted by Ted O'Brien from WNAC-TV. At several points during the show viewers were shown a number that they could call if they wished to receive a poster of Dorchester or wanted to speak with residents of the Melville-Park area who were answering a bank of phones.

The show was aired on Channel 7 (WNAC-TV) Friday, June 3, 1977 at 8 pm. It competed for viewers with the Channel 2 annual fund-raising auction, Channel 4's "Sanford and Son" and "The Rockford Files," a movie on Channel 5, and "The Honeymooners" and a Red Sox baseball game of WSBK, Channel 38. Advertisements for the show appeared in the daily papers prior to the broadcast. There were also 10- and 30-second TV commercials aired for three days before the show.

The proportion of residents who saw "Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park" is consistent with the ratings and share data computed by Arbitron Inc. (Table 9.1). Thirty-nine per cent of the long-term residents interviewed and 34 per cent of the recent buyers saw the program. As expected, the highest viewership was in Melville-Park, where 79 per cent of long-term residents and 91 per cent of the recent buyers whom we interviewed had watched the show. High proportions of the residents in other neighborhoods in Dorchester also watched: 49 per cent in Sanford-Cedar, 40 per cent in Minot and 39 per cent in Cushing.

In the other Dorchester study areas less than 35 per cent of those interviewed watched the show.

A slightly larger percentage of people saw "Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park" advertised than actually watched the program (Tables 9.3 and 9.4). Fifty-two per cent of long-term residents and 50 per cent of recent buyers saw the ads. This suggests that the advertising spots may have had a significant independent impact. In the Dorchester neighborhoods considered together, over 56 per cent of those interviewed had seen the ads. More people saw the show advertised on TV (37%) than in the newspaper (32%) or than heard of it by word of mouth (23%).

Public reaction to the show was generally positive, with an almost four-to-one ratio of positive to negative responses (Table 9.2). Long-term residents liked the show more than recent buyers. Although a larger percentage of Melville-Park residents liked the show than in any other neighborhood, more Melville-Park residents had negative feelings and mixed reactions. The show was well liked in Minot, Sanford-Cedar and Cushing, and received mixed reactions in Draper.

Although the reactions to the show were generally favorable, some residents expressed criticisms of it. Some said it was too positive to be believable: "It gave a Pollyanna type neighborhood image. But it was tremendous positive reinforcement. It made people think, 'Hey, maybe I'll take a chance!' But it didn't present our problems." Others said the show was not well done, while some felt it was inaccurate.

"It didn't do the neighborhood justice. It was presented from a white person's viewpoint." And, "(The show) had a tone aimed at your average suburbanite. Sometimes the negative base of the questions outweighed the positive answers." Other residents interviewed felt that the show's positive benefits outweighed its problems: "(It was) interesting. They should do one on Jamaica Plain." "Any publicity we get here in Dorchester - I'm enthusiastic about."

Neighborhood Posters

The second project activities studied by the survey were two posters, one of Jamaica Plain and the other of Dorchester. The posters, inspired by neighborhood planners for these areas, are bright collages of photographs of different aspects of the neighborhoods. They were distributed through the Boston Redevelopment Authority and were available at libraries, churches, little City Halls and schools. On the reverse side each poster had a map of the area that detailed interesting features and individual neighborhoods.

Far fewer people (28%) had seen the Dorchester or Jamaica Plain posters than had seen the TV show or its advertising. Slightly more of the recent buyers had seen it than long-term residents (Tables 9.5, 9.6). A somewhat smaller proportion of either owned a copy of one of the posters. The Jamaica Plain poster was more visible to more residents than the Dorchester poster. In both Jamaica Plain neighborhoods (Round Hill and Sedgwick) over 45 per cent of those interviewed had

seen it. Among Dorchester residents only in Melville-Park had half the people seen the poster.

People who were familiar with the posters had very positive feelings about them. Recent buyers liked the posters by a 27 to 1 margin. Long-term residents were slightly less satisfied, liking the posters by an 8 to 1 ratio.

Respondents saw the posters as positive statements about their neighborhoods. Typical responses included: "The poster helped us decide to move back. (It was) just another indication of the new spirit of Jamaica Plain." With respect to the Dorchester poster, one resident commented: "It was positive, but I feel architecture and housing are second to people. The poster emphasized architecture. It appealed to realtors and banks rather than to Dorchester citizens."

Summary

The two project activities (TV documentary and posters) the survey inquired about managed to reach large numbers of people and for the most part were received enthusiastically by them. The audience for the documentary "Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park" was strikingly high within the Dorchester area. The neighborhood posters varied in terms of how thoroughly they had penetrated the individual residential areas that are part of the larger districts they illustrate. The survey did not determine whether these two efforts have had any discernible affect in building neighborhood confidence. But they do seem to have surfaced positive feelings by residents for their own neighborhoods.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX I : BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX II : SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey was conducted in two phases: a telephone and site interview phase during the summer of 1977, and an in-depth personal interview phase with a smaller number of people in a subsample of neighborhoods, done between March 1 and August 15, 1978. The methodology of the two phases is described in the following section.

CHOOSING SURVEY NEIGHBORHOODS

The criteria used to define the neighborhoods varied considerably, and were defined by project staff in consultation with other city personnel. Considerations included:

- A desire to identify areas with a soft housing market where the project had particularly strong propspects of being effective;
- The need to cover a range of neighborhood types, in terms of turnover rate, population composition, and the quality of the housing stock;
- The project's need to know more about areas experiencing change, but with which project staff were relatively unfamiliar;
- The decision to concentrate project research on neighborhoods of relatively small scale, from 2,000-4,000 residents.

As a result, some of the study areas are "natural" neighborhoods in the classical ecological sense, and are identified as such

by residents; others are "contrived" neighborhoods, drawn for the purposes of this particular project, without geographic boundaries or social cohesion. Although the word "neighborhood" is used throughout this report, these variations in definition of study areas must be kept in mind.

TELEPHONE FIELD INTERVIEWS

The original contract between MIT and the City of Boston projected a sample size of 500-600 persons, or approximately fifty residents in each of eleven study areas. These fifty residents would be evenly divided between recent buyers and long-term residents, the two types of residents identified for interviewing purposes, felt to be critical to levels of neighborhood confidence. Our goal was therefore 25 recent buyers and 25 long-term residents in each neighborhood.

RECENT BUYERS

Recent buyers (RBs) were identified through real estate records kept at the office of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA). The purpose of the survey was to interview recent homebuyers as a surrogate for potential residents and homebuyers, and only resident homebuyers were sought for interviews. This required the recording of twice the number of transactions otherwise necessary, so that after the approximately 50% non-owner occupied dwellings were eliminated, there would be 25 recent resident homebuyers per area.

For each neighborhood, we recorded the most recent transactions beginning in June, 1977, and went back as far as necessary to obtain a sample of fifty. Rather than halt in midyear once the desired fifty transactions were recorded, the recording continued for the entire year. This means that in areas with many transactions per year the purchases are more recent than in areas with a slower turnover, and the time period covered varies among the study areas.

The records available at the BRA include not only the names of the buyers and sellers of each piece of property, but also a description of the property, the assessed valuation, the sale price, the amount of the mortgage (if any), and the name of the bank granting the mortgage.

After recording approximately fifty transactions in each area, we checked the names of buyers against the annually compiled municipal listing of residents, residing at their address as of January 1, 1977, to discover buyers who were also owner-occupants.

These lists of residents also provided information through 1976 on the buyer's and seller's date of birth and occupation. We obtained information on owner-occupancy for those purchasing in 1977 through telephone listings, since other lists were not yet available. The telephone listings were also used as a check on the accuracy of other lists of residents.

In most of the study areas the approximately fifty recorded transactions generated about 25 owner-occupant buyers, the target number. In neighborhoods where there were more than twenty five

but less than thirty, we decided to contact all RBs on the list. Where there were more than thirty owner-occupants, a sample of twenty-five was drawn.

LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

Long term residents (LTs) were defined, after some discussion, as a person or family resident in a neighborhood for a minimum of ten years. To identify each long term resident we matched the 1977 lists of residents against the 1967 lists, and recorded names appearing on both lists at the same address. A sample of twenty five names was taken from the total number of LT households, by every surname rather than every person.

The sample was derived in a modified statistically random manner. Since every neighborhood had a different number of long-term residents and we required a sample of twenty five from each area, we divided the total number of LTs in each area by twenty five, to derive the proportion of residents necessary to give twenty-five names to contact. For example, if there were 250 total households with unrelated individuals, we divided by 25, requiring us to draw 10% of the names. We then marked every tenth name (not including related individuals with the same surname) as a household to be sampled.

OBTAINING THE INTERVIEWS

Although we designed the survey to be administered over the telephone we encountered a considerable rate of unlisted phone

numbers and of households without phones in several of the study areas. Where we could not find phone numbers for persons in our sample, we tried to interview them in person. In the case of both recent buyers and long term residents, once a list of names was compiled for each neighborhood, we sought telephone numbers for each name, with the following result:

	Recent Buyers	Long Term Resider
Numbers found in telephone directory or through directory assistance	48%	64%
Unpublished numbers or no number at all	52%	36%

The original sample drawn did not yield a sufficiently large number of interviews either because of the initial sample size in some neighborhoods, unpublished or missing telephone numbers, or inability to contact people by telephone during the hours of interviewing, which were both daytime and evening hours. We had particular trouble interviewing recent buyers, and so in neighborhoods where our initial listing had yielded more than 30 resident buyers to draw from, we drew an augmented number of names, using a method similar to first round of sampling, and these additional people were contacted.

The next step was to obtain interviews with those with unpublished telephone numbers, or those with no telephone at all, since simple omission of these people would bias the survey against

both those not able to afford a telephone, and people who are reluctant to list their telephone number. We also wanted to contact those persons who had refused an interview on the first attempt, since omitting their views might bias our results. To address these problems we mailed a personalized letter to those who had refused to be interviewed, and to those whose telephone numbers we could not obtain. This letter strategy permitted the survey team to set up "appointments" in the field. The letters mentioned a particular time when a team member would be visiting the potential respondent's house, and encouraged people who would not be at home at the designated time to call us. People staffing office telephones attempted to conduct the interview at the time of the call, to minimize the number of field trips.

The field trips began on August 8, 1977, approximately one month after we began interviewing by telephone, and lasted until August 25, 1977. We conducted a total of 91 field interviews[1]

As a further attempt to interview all persons from the original and augumented smaples, we made several attempts to call all persons whose telephone numbers we obtained, and as a result obtained several more interviews.

[1]The letters resulted in the following contacts:

- 17 people called in to be interviewed
- 1 person came to MIT in person
- 1 person called in to refuse
- 1 person wrote back to refuse
- 18 letters were returned as undeliverable for a variety of reasons.

These many attempts to locate and contact the majority of our original sample was done in order to maintain the integrity of the sample. We had chosen people in a rigorous manner, and made every possible effort to interview all those in that sample. It was impossible to meet our original goal, and so we augumented the sample.

We sought to roughly balance the total number of recent buyers and long term residents in each neighborhood, and to equalize the number of interviews obtained in each area. The final number of interviews completed were:

Neighborhood	Recent Buyers	Long Term Residents
1. Round Hill	11	16
2. Sedgwick	17	17
3. Elm Hill	14	16
4. Sav-Mor	21	22
5. Cushing	12	17
6. Draper	13	19
7. Melville-Park	22	19
8. Edson-Torrey	6	14
9. Minot	20	23
10. Sanford-Cedar	18	17
11. Savannah-Taunton	19	22
Total	173	202

IN-DEPTH PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

A second round of interviews began in the Winter of 1977, and continued through the Summer of 1978. We decided to interview new types of people, to get information only they could provide, and to reinterview some of those already interviewed in the first round for more detailed information. The four groups chosen to be interviewed were:

- Long-term residents who in the first round had said they were willing to talk more at a future time;
- Recent buyers who had purchased homes after the first round of interviews was completed; plus some recent buyers already interviewed in the first round;
- Movers-out of the selected neighborhoods;
- Prospective buyers who had inquired about living in Boston, but who had not actually purchased there.

LONG TERM RESIDENTS

We reviewed the interviews of long-term residents who had expressed a willingness during their first interview to talk with project staff at a future time, to discover who were the most informative, to find the most forthcoming and cooperative people who would be willing to be interviewed for the necessary two hours.

Our original goal was to interview six people in each category, but in some neighborhoods this was not possible to achieve, so we reduced the goal to four. If there were more than six people

willing to be interviewed further within each category, the first six that could be contacted were interviewed. If there were fewer than six, people who had not said in the original interview whether or not they would be willing to talk more, or who had said they were not sure, were contacted. In these cases, anyone who had not said "no" was asked if they were willing to be interviewed in-depth.

RECENT BUYERS

Recent buyers who had purchased homes in the study areas between June 1, 1977 and May 31, 1978 were identified from listings in the real estate paper Banker and Tradesman. As in the first round, it was necessary to discover which of the buyers were owner-occupants, and which were not occupying the property they had purchased. Since the annual municipal list of residents was not yet available for such recent purchases, we used telephone listings to determine owner occupancy. After the resident homeowners were identified in this fashion, they were contacted in order, from the top of the list moving down. The difficulties in contacting people in both rounds of interviews led to a strategy of interviewing anyone who was available, contactable, and willing to talk to us for such a long period of time.

In addition to those who had purchased homes after June 1977, some recent buyers who had been interviewed in the first round and who had said they were willing to talk further were contacted. We did this to round out the numbers and obtain the desired four

interviews per category per neighborhood. The method used here was identical to that used in the long-term resident category, in this second round.

MOVERS-OUT

We attempted at the outset to match recent buyers with the people who had moved out of those homes, to obtain a matched set of interviews of the people moving out of and into the same home. However, many of the former owners were deceased, or the present owners knew only vaguely where they had moved (e.g. "They moved to New Hampshire somewhere"), therefore this strategy became impossible to pursue.

Fortunately, the seller's name was recorded in the Banker and Tradesman record, and some could be traced through the telephone directories of the Boston metropolitan area, including all the suburban directories. If there was only one listing with a particular name, we sent a letter; if there were multiple listings of a name, no attempt at contact was made. If a name was found in one of the directories, we sent out a letter asking the person if they had lived in the Boston neighborhood. If they had, and if they were interested in being interviewed, we suggested that they call the project office to set up an interview.

A third strategy attempted to obtain names of movers out of the neighborhoods was to mail a letter to the seller at the old address, asking the Post Office to send it to the forwarding address.

This letter also asked sellers to call the project office if they were interested in being interviewed.

We did not attempt to contact one group of sellers, those whose mortgages had been foreclosed either by a bank or by HUD. We felt that this would be a painful and sensitive subject to them, and they would not be willing to talk about it to an interviewer.

PROSPECTIVE BUYERS

We contacted a fourth group of people, prospective buyers who did not purchase homes in Boston. We used lists compiled by personnel of the City of Boston, who often received inquiries from people as a result of newspaper stories, house tours, and other project activities. The goal was to obtain twenty telephone interviews with people from this group. At first, half the names were drawn from available lists by taking every second name. This did not yield a satisfactory group of people, so the sample was stratified to obtain a balance of people living in the inner suburbs, outer suburbs, the City of Boston, and the neighborhood of Dorchester. In addition, we wanted to contact both owners and renters. This stratification was done to reflect the larger sample, and the range of people interested in living in Boston.

SELECTING NEIGHBORHOODS FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

We selected five of the eleven study areas to conduct in-depth personal interviews: Elm Hill, Sav Mor, Draper,

Melville Park and Minot. We chose these areas because they represented a wide variety with respect to those factors that were central to the survey--levels of neighborhood confidence, neighborhood racial composition, population stability, physical condition and the type and quality of the housing stock. The five areas selected illustrated major trends and themes documented by our interviews. Sav Mor is a black area of high stability, only fair physical condition, but quite high neighborhood confidence. Elm Hill is almost entirely black with lower population stability, better physical condition, but relatively low neighborhood confidence. Draper on the other hand is predominately white with lower population stability, good physical condition and low neighborhood confidence. Melville Park is mostly white, has experienced considerable population turnover, has very good physical condition and very high neighborhood confidence. Minot is exclusively white, with high population stability, very good physical condition and very high confidence.

INTERVIEW METHODOLOGY

The in-depth personal interviews were conversational and open-ended, and the interviewers took notes so the interview could be reconstructed afterward. We avoided audio taping in order to keep the interview relaxed and open, especially when sensitive quesitons touching on racial attitudes were broached.

Interviewers were trained by practicing or role-playing with each other, and they also had a lengthy session with the project director on the goals of the project and of the interviews.

We initially contacted potential interviewees by mail. For those who had been interviewed in the first round and had expressed a willingness to talk further, the letter stated thatthe preliminary findings had suggested new areas of inquiry, and that project staff would like to speak to them again at length. We followed up with a telephone call to schedule an interview.

For those who had not been interviewed before, we sent a letter explaining the project. They were told that they would be contacted by telephone and if they were interesed in participating they would be provided with more information at that time. They were also given a telephone number to contact if they wanted to take the initiative in making contact. Again, we followed up by telephone to ascertain interest and to schedule an interview. If an appointment was missed the person was called back and the interview rescheduled.

If a person refused to participate on first contact, there was no attempt to convince them to participate. This was thought to be the course that would produce the most informative and complete interview, especially in view of the length and depth of the involvement. We expected that a reluctant informant would not provide sufficient information of high quality, and so we did

not to try to change their minds. This strategy ultimately influenced the decision to reduce the goal of six interviews per category of informant per neighborhood, to four per category per neighborhood.

APPENDIX III: DEMOGRAPHIC AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

We interviewed 376 residents in 11 study areas. 208 were "long-term residents" (at least 10 years at present address) and 168 were "recent buyers" (owner-occupants who had bought their homes since 1973).

Age

Of the long-term residents, nearly 40% were over 65 years old and only 17% were under age 50. This trend was fairly consistent through out the neighborhoods though the Minot area had a higher concentration (57%) over 65.

The recent buyers were generally younger, with 58% below the age of 50, although certain neighborhoods still had a high concentration of recent buyers over 65 (Round Hill - 60%, Savannah-Taunton - 50%).

Sex

60% of both long-term and recent buyers were female and 40% male. The higher ratio of female to male probably resulted from the fact that we conducted most interviews during the day. Two deviations from this pattern can be seen among the recent buyers of Round Hill (20% Female, 80% male) and Edson-Torrey (33% female, 67% male).

Occupation

Nearly one-half of all long-term respondents were either housewives (22%) or retired persons (24%). In some study areas there were a significant number of professionals among the long-term respondents - one-

quarter of those in Elm Hill (also one-quarter of respondents' spouses there) and the third of those in Sav-Mor were professionals. Round Hill and Cushing had a high concentration of clerical persons (over 25% each). Crafts people constituted 24% of the long-term residents in the Cushing area and 31% of the spouses' occupations in Sedgwick.

20% of the recent buyers of those responding were housevives. 15% of the recent buyers were professionals and almost 20% of the spouses of recent buyers were also professionals. Those areas with the greatest proportion of professionals were Melville Park (32% , Cushing (27%), Sedgwick (19%) and Sav-Mor (17%). Of these areas, Melville Park, Sav-Mor and Sedgwick also had a high proportion of professionals among the spouses of recent buyers.

Those areas with none or very few professionals were Round Hill, Draper, Edson-Torrey and Minot. With respect of recent buyers' and their spouses' occupations, there was a fairly high concentration of service workers (16%) especially in certain neighborhoods - Edson-Torrey (one-third), Round Hill (30%), Sav-Mor (28%) and Cushing (27%). Of the recent buyers' spouses, 57% of those in Round Hill were service workers, 46% of those in Sav-Mor were professionals, 44% of the spouses in Draper were crafts people and 75% of those in Edson-Torrey were housewives.

Ethnic and Racial Status

Nearly one-third of the long-term residents were Irish with the highest concentrations in Minot (55%), Draper (53%), Cushing (50%), Sedgwick (44%) and Savannah-Taunton (42%). 18% of the long-term residents

were black and the greatest concentrations of these were in Elm Hill (100%) and Sav-Mor (75%). There was a significantly greater population of blacks and fewer Irish among the recent buyers (34% and 26% respectively).

In several neighborhoods, there were no blacks among the long-term residents and fairly high ratios of blacks among the recent buyers - Cushing 40% blacks, Draper 36%, Melville Park 30%, Sanford-Cedar 12% and Savannah-Taunton 77%. We interviewed a total of 67 residents (30 long-term, 37 recent buyer) who identified themselves as black or Afro-American. There was only one Hispanic resident among the long-terms and 7 in the recent buyers group.

Education

Of the long-term residents, 17% had less than a high school educatio 49% finished high school, 30% had college education (high, Sav-Mor 50%; low, Draper 7%). The highest proportion of those without high school were in Draper (43%) and the lowest was in Melville Park (5%). 4% of the long-term residents ahd attended graduate school.

Recent buyers had 14% with graduate school education, the highest number of which were located in Melville Park (36%). College education for the recent buyers was 26% with the highest neighborhood ratio in Round Hill (60%). 37% of recent buyers completed high school and 23% had less than a high school education.

Children

Over half of the long-term residents had no children in the household. Recent buyers were more likely to have children in the

household - 42% Had 1 or 2 children and 35% had 3 or more.

Children's Schools

Almost twice as many children of recent buyers (61%) attended public schools as did children of long-term residents (33%). The long-term residents had 47% of their children in private or parochial schools while only 27% of recent buyers' children were attending private or parochial schools.

Price of Residence

80% of recent buyers bought their homes for less than $25,000. 12% paid $25-30,000, 8% paid over $30,000. Those areas with the highest proportion of sales prices under $15,000 were Round Hill (80%), Sav-Mor (80%), and Cushing (83%).

Size of Residence

Of the total sample, 42% of respondents live in a single-family house, 30% in a two-family, 23% in a three-family. Those areas with higher proportions of recent buyers single-family dwellings are: Savannah Taunton (83%), Melville Park (81%), Round Hill (60%), Minot (60%).

APPENDIX IV: TABLES

Explanatory Notes about Tables

1. The first number of each table indicates the chapter to which the table most directly relates.
2. Tables included in the body of the report are not included again in the Appendix.
3. The first figure that appears in each table is a percentage. Figures in parentheses indicate the absolute number represented by the percentage next to it.
4. Unless otherwise indicated, the "TOTAL" row at the bottom of each table includes row percentages, while the percentages in the rest of the table are column percentages.
5. For those individual questions that elicited multiple answers, percentages are based on total number of responses rather than respondents.

TABLE 3.1: EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS ANTICIPATE MOVING

Q: Do you anticipate that you might move from your present address?

STUDY AREA

	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	46%(6)	67(6)	43(6)	33(5)	25(4)	17(2)	24(5)	22(4)	19(3)	42(5)	40(6)	17(2)
No	46(6)	22(2)	50(7)	53(8)	63(10)	67(8)	62(13)	72(13)	63(10)	58(7)	53(8)	75(9)
Not sure	8(1)	11(1)	7(1)	13(2)	13(2)	17(2)	10(2)	6(1)	19(3)	0	7(1)	8(1)
TOTAL	7(13)	6(9)	7(14)	9(15)	8(16)	8(12)	11(20)	11(18)	8(16)	8(12)	8(15)	8(12)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	16%(3)	32(7)	33(5)	17(1)	9(2)	25(5)	31(5)	39(7)	36(8)	50(8)	28(53)	33(52)
No	74(14)	59(13)	53(8)	67(4)	78(18)	75(15)	63(10)	56(10)	36(8)	31(5)	59(112)	59(94)
Not sure	11(2)	9(2)	13(2)	17(1)	13(3)	0	6(1)	6(1)	27(6)	19(3)	13(24)	9(14)
TOTAL	10(19)	14(22)	8(15)	4(6)	12(23)	13(20)	8(16)	11(18)	12(22)	10(16)	100(189)	100(160)

TABLE 3.2: REASONS FOR ANTICIPATING MOVING

Q: Do you anticipate that you might move from your present address? Why would you move?

STUDY AREA

REASONS	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Boston specific	0	(2)	(1)	(3)	0	(2)	0	(2)	0	(1)	(4)	0
	0	8%	4	4	0	4	0	4	0	4	12	0
	0	33%	25	38	0	40	0	40	0	33	50	0
Neighborhood	(2)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)	0	0	(1)	(3)	0	(2)	(1)
specific	9%	4	9	4	4	0	0	4	13	0	9	4
	50%	33	50	13	20	0	0	20	43	0	25	33
House specific	(1)	0	0	(1)	0	(1)	(3)	0	(1)	(1)	0	(1)
	6	0	0	6	0	6	18	0	6	6	0	6
	25	0	0	13	0	20	38	0	14	33	0	33
Personal reasons	(1)	0	1	(3)	(4)	(2)	0	0	0	0	(1)	0
	4	0	0	12	12	8	0	0	0	0	4	0
	25	0	25	38	80	40	0	0	0	0	13	0
Other	0	(2)	0	0	0	0	(5)	(2)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(1)
	0	11	0	0	0	0	28	11	6	6	6	6
	0	33	0	0	0	0	62	40	43	33	13	33
TOTAL	6(4)	9(6)	6(4)	12(8)	8(5)	7(5)	13(8)	7(5)	11(7)	4(3)	13(8)	4(3)

TABLE 3.2 : REASONS FOR ANTICIPATING MOVING (cont'd)

REASONS	STUDY AREA: Melville-Park LT	Melville-Park RB	Edson-Torrey LT	Edson-Torrey RB	Minot LT	Minot RB	Sanford-Cedar LT	Sanford-Cedar RB	Savannah-Taunton LT	Savannah-Taunton RB	ROW TOTAL LT	ROW TOTAL RB
Boston specific	0	0	0	0	0	(3)	(2)	(3)	(3)	(6)		
	0	0	0	0	0	12	4	8	12	21	16(10)	32(22)
	0	0	0	0	0	60	33	27	30	46		
Neighborhood	0	(4)	(5)	0	0	0	(1)	(3)	0	1		
specific	0	9	17	0	0	0	4	9	0	0	26(16)	19(13)
	0	44	100	0	0	0	17	27	0	8		
House specific	(2)	0	0	0	0	(1)	(1)	(1)	(3)	(1)		
	12	0	0	0	0	6	6	6	12	6	18(11)	10(7)
	100	0	0	0	0	20	17	9	30	8		
Personal reasons	0	(5)	0	0	(2)	1	(1)	(3)	(3)	(2)		
	0	21	0	0	8	0	4	8	12	4	21(13)	23(16)
	0	56	0	0	67	20	17	27	30	15		
Other	0	0	0	(1)	(1)	0	(1)	1	1	(3)		
	0	0	0	6	6	0	6	0	0	11	19(12)	16(11)
	0	0	0	100	33	0	17	9	10	23		
TOTAL	3(2)	13(9)	8(5)	1(1)	5(3)	7(5)	10(6)	16(11)	16(10)	19(13)	100(62)	100(69)

TABLE 3.3 : PREDICTIONS OF WHAT NEIGHBORHOOD WILL BE LIKE IN 3 YEARS

Q: What do you think your neighborhood will be like three years from now?

STUDY AREA

PREDICTIONS OF FUTURE	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Positive	23%(3)	50(5)	8(1)	38(6)	37(6)	50(6)	43(9)	28(5)	6(1)	42(5)	0	25(3)
Same or stable	23(3)	40(4)	31(4)	31(5)	31(5)	33(4)	29(6)	44(8)	53(9)	8(1)	20(3)	25(3)
Negative	23(3)	10(1)	54(7)	12(2)	19(3)	8(1)	10(2)	0	6(1)	17(2)	53(8)	17(2)
Do not know	31(4)	0	8(1)	19(3)	12(2)	8(1)	19(4)	28(5)	35(6)	33(4)	27(4)	31(4)
TOTAL	7(13)	6(10)	7(13)	10(16)	9(16)	7(12)	11(21)	11(18)	9(17)	7(12)	8(15)	7(12)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Positive	26%(5)	27(6)	38(5)	60(3)	0	5(1)	0	0	4(1)	31(5)	17(31)	28(45)
Same or stable	32(6)	54(12)	15(2)	20(1)	56(13)	75(15)	38(6)	44(8)	36(8)	19(3)	35(65)	40(64)
Negative	21(4)	9(2)	8(1)	0	13(3)	5(1)	44(7)	11(2)	32(7)	31(5)	24(46)	11(18)
Do not know	21(4)	9(2)	38(5)	20(1)	30(7)	15(3)	19(3)	44(8)	27(6)	19(3)	24(46)	21(34)
TOTAL	10(19)	14(22)	7(13)	3(5)	12(23)	12(20)	9(16)	11(18)	12(22)	10(16)	100(188)	100(161)

TABLE 3.4 : PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF MOVEMENT OF PROPERTY VALUES

Q: Since moving in, would you say property values have risen? Stayed the same? Fallen?

Q: Would you say that, in recent years, property values have risen? Stayed the same? Fallen?

PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Risen	17%(2)	50(5)	25(3)	36(4)	27(4)	40(4)	41(7)	42(8)	7(1)	20(2)	7(1)	10(1)
Stayed same	8(1)	40(4)	25(3)	36(4)	13(2)	40(4)	24(4)	47(9)	29(4)	40(4)	21(3)	50(5)
Fallen	75(9)	10(1)	50(6)	27(3)	60(9)	20(2)	35(6)	11(2)	64(9)	40(4)	71(10)	40(4)
TOTAL	7(12)	7(10)	7(12)	8(11)	9(15)	7(10)	10(17)	14(19)	9(14)	7(10)	9(14)	7(10)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Risen	22%(4)	74(14)	9(1)	50(2)	37(7)	29(5)	17(2)	13(2)	16(3)	21(3)	21(35)	36(50)
Stayed same	22(4)	21(4)	0	25(1)	37(7)	65(11)	50(6)	60(9)	26(5)	64(9)	24(39)	46(64)
Fallen	56(10)	5(1)	91(10)	25(1)	26(5)	6(1)	33(4)	27(4)	58(11)	14(2)	55(89)	18(25)
TOTAL	11(18)	14(19)	7(11)	3(4)	12(19)	12(17)	7(12)	11(15)	12(19)	10(14)	100(163)	100(139)

TABLE 3.7 : EXTENT TO WHICH RECENT BUYERS WOULD REPEAT THEIR DECISION TO MOVE INTO NEIGHBORHOOD

Q: If you were to do it all over again, do you think you would move into this neighborhood?

	STUDY AREA					
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper
Yes	70%(7)	69(9)	85(11)	74(14)	64(7)	58(7)
No	20(2)	15(2)	8(1)	26(5)	27(3)	25(3)
Not sure	10(1)	8(1)	8(1)	0	9(1)	17(2)
TOTAL	6(10)	8(12)	8(13)	12(19)	7(11)	8(12)

	STUDY AREA					
	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Yes	89%(16)	100(5)	90(18)	61(11)	80(12)	76(117)
No	11(2)	0	10(2)	33(6)	13(2)	18(28)
Not sure	0	0	0	6(1)	7(1)	5(8)
TOTAL	12(18)	3(5)	13(20)	12(18)	10(15)	100(153)

TABLE 3.8 : EXTENT TO WHICH LONG-TERM RESIDENTS WOULD RECOMMEND THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD TO THEIR CHILDREN AS A PLACE TO LIVE

Q: If your children or other young people were looking for a place to live, would you recommend that they live in your neighborhood?

	STUDY AREA					
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper
Yes	27%(4)	51(7)	51(8)	52(11)	73(11)	53(9)
No	53(8)	29(4)	38(6)	33(7)	20(3)	35(6)
Not sure	20(3)	21(3)	12(2)	10(2)	7(1)	12(2)
TOTAL	8(15)	7(14)	9(16)	11(20)	8(15)	9(17)

	STUDY AREA					
	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Yes	88%(15)	43(6)	87(20)	63(10)	29(6)	57(107)
No	12(2)	57(8)	13(3)	38(6)	43(9)	33(62)
Not sure	0	0	0	0	29(6)	10(19)
TOTAL	9(17)	7(14)	12(23)	9(16)	11(21)	100(188)

TABLE 3.10 : DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES AS PERCEIVED BY RESPONDENTS OF DIFFERENT AGES

	DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES				
AGE	Risen	Stayed same	Fallen	Other	ROW TOTAL
Over 65	28%(24)	38(39)	25(28)	44(4)	30(95)
55-64	20(17)	14(14)	36(41)	11(1)	23(73)
45-54	20(17)	13(13)	18(21)	22(2)	17(53)
35-44	19(16)	16(17)	8(9)	0	14(42)
25-34	11(9)	18(19)	8(9)	22(2)	12(39)
Under 25	2(2)	0	4(5)	0	2(7)
Unknown	0	1(1)	1(1)	0	0.6(2)
TOTAL	27(85)	33(103)	37(114)	3(9)	100(311)

TABLE 5.1 : PERCEIVED CHANGES IN NEIGHBORHOODS

Q: Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? (Recent Buyers)

	STUDY AREA											
CHANGES	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Positive	33%(5)	41(12)	40(9)	46(15)	24(4)	29(5)	68(27)	0	30(9)	20(4)	35(8)	40(98)
Neutral	40(6)	17(5)	20(4)	12(4)	35(6)	12(2)	18(7)	71(5)	54(13)	65(13)	52(12)	32(77)
Negative	27(4)	41(12)	35(7)	42(14)	41(7)	59(10)	12(5)	29(2)	8(2)	15(3)	13(3)	28(69)
TOTAL	6(15)	11(29)	8(20)	13(33)	7(17)	7(17)	16(39)	3(7)	10(24)	8(20)	9(23)	100(244)

Q: Looking back for a moment, what in particular have you seen happen in your neighborhood? (Long-Term Residents)

	STUDY AREA											
CHANGES	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Positive	10%(3)	32(11)	19(6)	39(15)	10(3)	16(6)	46(17)	7(2)	4(1)	5(1)	22(8)	21(73)
Neutral	14(4)	9(3)	16(5)	13(5)	14(4)	8(3)	14(5)	4(1)	68(19)	45(9)	28(10)	20(68)
Negative	76(22)	58(20)	64(20)	47(18)	76(22)	76(28)	41(15)	82(22)	25(7)	50(10)	50(18)	59(202)
TOTAL	8(29)	10(34)	9(31)	11(38)	8(29)	11(37)	11(37)	7(25)	8(27)	6(20)	10(36)	100(343)

TABLE 5.2 : REASONS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE PERCEIVED BY RECENT BUYERS

Q: Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? What's the same and what's different? Why do you think these things have happened?

	PERCEIVED REASONS FOR CHANGE								
CHANGES	People's concern	Newcomers positive	City action	Area's potential realized	Other positive	Blacks have more money	Other neutral	Newcomers negative	Absentee landlords
Positive	(26)	(11)	(4)	(22)	(21)	(5)	0	(11)	(2)
	22%	9	3	18	17	4	0	9	2
	81%	61	100	79	100	83	0	15	15
Neutral	(3)	(1)	0	0	0	(1)	(3)	(6)	0
	8	3	0	0	0	3	8	17	0
	9	6	0	0	0	17	100	8	0
Negative	(3)	(6)	0	(6)	0	0	0	(57)	(11)
	1	3	0	3	0	0	0	28	5
	9	33	0	21	0	0	0	89	85
TOTAL	9(32)	5(18)	1(4)	8(28)	6(21)	2(6)	1(3)	21(74)	4(13)

TABLE 5.2 : REASONS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE PERCEIVED BY RECENT BUYERS (cont'd)

Q: Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? What's the same and what's different? Why do you think these things have happened?

	PERCEIVED REASONS FOR CHANGE							
CHANGES	Vandalism	Housing abandonment	Long termers leaving	Redlining	Political inattention	Other negative	Do not know	ROW TOTAL
Positive	(1)	(1)	0	(1)	(2)	(9)	(4)	
	.8%	.8	0	.8	2	8	3	34(120)
	3%	8	0	12	13	17	20	
Neutral	(5)	(3)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(3)	
	14	8	5	11	5	8	8	10(36)
	16	25	11	50	13	6	15	
Negative	(26)	(8)	(17)	(3)	(11)	(40)	(13)	
	13	4	8	1	5	20	6	56(201)
	81	66	89	38	73	77	65	
TOTAL	9(32)	3(12)	5(19)	2(8)	4(15)	15(52)	6(20)	100(357)

TABLE 5.3 : PERCEIVED CHANGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD BY RACE

Q: Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? What's different and what's the same? RB
You've lived here for ____ years now, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? LT

	ETHNIC BACKGROUND					
CHANGES	White	Hispanic	Black	Other	Combinations	ROW TOTAL
Positive	28%(70)	0	34(41)	30(20)	19(14)	28(145)
Neutral	24(61)	40(6)	25(30)	27(18)	22(16)	25(131)
Negative	47(118)	60(9)	41(49)	42(28)	59(44)	47(248)
TOTAL	100(249)	100(15)	100(120)	100(66)	100(74)	100(524)

Explanation: The surveys asked people to indicate their ethnic background. We coded their answers so as to report their racial status.

TABLE 5.4 : RECENT BUYERS' PERCEIVED CHANGES IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD BY RACE

Q: Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? What's different and what's the same?

	ETHNIC BACKGROUND					
CHANGES	White	Hispanic	Black	Other	Combinations	ROW TOTAL
Positive	45%(39)	0	36(23)	38(11)	17(5)	35(78)
Neutral	24(21)	55(6)	33(21)	28(8)	31(9)	30(65)
Negative	31(27)	45(5)	31(20)	34(10)	52(15)	35(77)
TOTAL	100(87)	100(11)	100(64)	100(29)	100(29)	100(220)

TABLE 5.5 : FUTURE NEIGHBORHOOD ATTRIBUTES

Q: What would you like your neighborhood to be like?

STUDY AREA

	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Physical and environmental	(6)	(10)	(10)	(10)	(8)	(6)	(13)	(7)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(7)
COUNT	8%	15	13	15	11	9	17	11	11	12	11	11
ROW PCT	50%	63	59	56	38	38	50	33	40	62	47	47
COL PCT												
Social attributes of residents	(1)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(4)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
	3	8	6	4	11	4	11	8	3	4	6	8
	8	13	12	6	17	6	15	10	5	8	12	13
Security	(2)	(1)	(1)	0	(3)	(4)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(1)	(3)	(3)
	7	6	4	0	11	25	14	25	11	6	11	19
	17	6	6	0	14	25	15	19	15	8	18	20
Traffic	(1)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(5)	(6)	(5)	(1)	(3)	(2)
	3	4	10	12	14	20	17	24	17	4	10	8
	8	6	18	17	19	31	19	29	25	8	18	13
Same, as it is	(2)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(2)	0	0	(2)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(1)
	4	4	2	7	4	0	0	4	5	4	2	2
	17	13	6	22	10	0	0	10	15	15	6	7
TOTAL	5(12)	9(16)	8(17)	10(18)	9(21)	9(16)	12(26)	11(21)	9(20)	7(13)	8(17)	8(15)

TABLE 5.5 : FUTURE NEIGHBORHOOD ATTRIBUTES (cont'd)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Physical and	(4)	(7)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(7)	(3)		
environmental	4%	11	7	5	5	3	3	3	9	5	34(75)	35(65)
	17%	24	26	100	15	10	12	11	29	19		
Social attributes	(3)	(9)	(7)	0	0	(3)	(4)	(3)	(7)	(2)		
of residents	9	35	20	0	0	12	11	12	20	8	16(35)	14(26)
	13	31	37	0	0	15	24	16	29	13		
Security	(3)	(1)	(3)	0	(2)	0	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)		
	11	13	11	0	7	0	7	6	7	6	13(28)	9(16)
	13	3	16	0	8	0	12	5	8	6		
Traffic	(2)	(2)	(1)	0	(1)	(3)	0	(0)	(4)	(2)		
	7	16	3	0	3	12	0	0	14	8	13(29)	13(25)
	9	7	5	0	4	15	0	0	17	13		
Same, as it is	(11)	(10)	(3)	0	(19)	(12)	(9)	(13)	(4)	(8)		
	20	19	5	0	34	22	16	24	7	15	25(55)	29(54)
	48	34	16	0	73	60	53	68	17	50		
TOTAL	10(23)	16(29)	9(19)	2(3)	12(26)	11(20)	8(17)	10(19)	11(24)	9(16)	100(222)	100(186)

TABLE 5.6 : WHAT RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS TO BE LIKE

Q: What would you like your neighborhood to be like?

NEIGHBORHOOD ATTRIBUTES	STUDY AREA: Round Hill LT	Round Hill RB	Sedgwick LT	Sedgwick RB	Elm Hill LT	Elm Hill RB	Sav-Mor LT	Sav-Mor RB	Cushing LT	Cushing RB	Draper LT	Draper RB
Physical and environmental	50%(6)	63(10)	59(10)	56(10)	38(8)	38(6)	50(13)	33(7)	40(8)	62(8)	47(8)	47(7)
Social attributes of residents	8(1)	13(2)	12(2)	6(1)	17(4)	6(1)	15(4)	10(2)	5(1)	8(1)	12(2)	13(2)
Security	17(2)	6(1)	6(1)	0	14(3)	25(4)	15(4)	19(4)	15(3)	8(1)	18(3)	20(3)
Traffic	8(1)	6(1)	18(3)	17(3)	19(4)	31(5)	19(5)	29(6)	25(5)	8(1)	18(3)	13(2)
Same, as it is	17(2)	13(2)	6(1)	22(4)	10(2)	0	0	10(2)	15(3)	15(2)	6(1)	7(1)
TOTAL	5(12)	9(16)	8(17)	10(18)	9(21)	9(16)	12(26)	11(21)	9(20)	7(13)	8(17)	8(15)

	STUDY AREA: Melville-Park LT	Melville-Park RB	Edson-Torrey LT	Edson-Torrey RB	Minot LT	Minot RB	Sanford-Cedar LT	Sanford-Cedar RB	Savannah-Taunton LT	Savannah-Taunton RB	ROW TOTAL LT	ROW TOTAL RB
Physical and environmental	17%(4)	24(7)	26(5)	100(3)	15(4)	10(2)	12(2)	11(2)	29(7)	19(3)	34(75)	35(65)
Social attributes of residents	13(3)	31(9)	37(7)	0	0	15(3)	24(4)	16(3)	29(7)	13(2)	16(35)	14(26)
Security	13(3)	3(1)	16(3)	0	8(2)	0	12(2)	5(1)	8(2)	6(1)	13(28)	9(16)
Traffic	9(2)	7(2)	5(1)	0	4(1)	15(3)	0	0	17(4)	13(2)	13(29)	13(25)
Same, as it is	48(11)	34(10)	16(3)	0	73(19)	60(12)	53(9)	68(13)	17(4)	50(8)	25(55)	29(54)
TOTAL	10(23)	16(29)	9(19)	2(3)	12(26)	11(20)	8(17)	10(19)	11(24)	9(16)	100(222)	100(186)

TABLE 5.7 : RECOMMENDATIONS TO CITY

Q: If you were in a position to suggest to the city one thing to improve your neighborhood, what would you recommend?

STUDY AREA

RECOMMENDATION	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Physical and environmental improvements	29%(5)	89(8)	27(4)	38(5)	38(6)	54(7)	38(8)	28(5)	43(6)	18(2)	47(7)	42(5)
Lower property taxes	6(1)	11(1)	20(3)	8(1)	0	8(1)	14(3)	11(2)	14(2)	27(3)	13(2)	8(1)
Schools	0	0	0	23(3)	6(1)	8(1)	0	17(3)	0	9(1)	13(2)	8(1)
Security-crime	47(8)	0	27(4)	0	19(3)	8(1)	19(4)	28(5)	29(4)	9(1)	13(2)	0
Youth effort	12(2)	0	0	0	6(1)	0	5(1)	6(1)	7(1)	0	0	17(2)
Financial assistance	6(1)	0	0	15(2)	19(3)	8(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	27(4)	15(2)	12(2)	15(2)	24(5)	11(2)	7(1)	36(4)	13(2)	25(3)
TOTAL	10(17)	6(9)	9(15)	9(13)	9(16)	9(13)	12(21)	13(18)	8(14)	8(11)	9(15)	8(12)

TABLE 5.7 : RECOMMENDATIONS TO CITY (cont'd)

RECOMMENDATION	STUDY AREA: Melville-Park LT	Melville-Park RB	Edson-Torrey LT	Edson-Torrey RB	Minot LT	Minot RB	Sanford-Cedar LT	Sanford-Cedar RB	Savannah-Taunton LT	Savannah-Taunton RB	ROW TOTAL LT	ROW TOTAL RB
Physical and environmental improvements	21%(3)	40(8)	27(3)	33(2)	50(9)	25(4)	50(6)	50(6)	11(2)	46(6)	35(59)	41(58)
Lower property taxes	14(2)	10(2)	0	33(2)	6(1)	38(6)	8(1)	17(2)	33(6)	23(3)	12(21)	17(24)
Schools	0	10(2)	9(1)	0	6(1)	13(2)	17(2)	8(1)	28(5)	15(2)	7(12)	11(16)
Security-crime	29(4)	0	27(3)	17(1)	11(2)	0	8(1)	0	22(4)	8(1)	23(39)	6(9)
Youth effort	0	5(1)	18(2)	0	17(3)	13(2)	8(1)	0	6(1)	8(1)	7(12)	5(7)
Financial assistance	14(2)	10(2)	9(1)	0	0	6(1)	0	0	0	0	4(7)	4(6)
Other	21(3)	25(5)	9(1)	17(1)	11(2)	6(1)	8(1)	25(3)	0	0	12(21)	16(23)
TOTAL	8(14)	14(20)	6(11)	4(6)	11(18)	11(16)	7(12)	8(12)	11(18)	9(13)	100(171)	100(143)

TABLE 6.1: LOCATION OF RECENT BUYERS' PREVIOUS RESIDENCE BY STUDY AREA

Q: Could you tell me where you lived before you moved to your present address? (asked only of recent buyers)

LOCATION OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
This neighborhood	20%(2)	63(10)	58(7)	67(14)	55(6)	58(7)	50(11)	50(3)	85(17)	61(11)	39(7)	55(92)
Roxbury	20(2)	0	0	0	27(3)	0	5(1)	17(1)	0	0	28(5)	7(12)
Dorchester	0	0	8(1)	14(3)	0	8(1)	0	0	0	0	17(3)	7(11)
Mattapan	0	0	8(1)	9(2)	0	0	0	0	5(1)	0	0	2(4)
Other Boston neighborhoods	40(4)	25(4)	17(2)	9(2)	0	8(1)	14(3)	17(1)	5(1)	6(1)	11(2)	13(21)
Boston suburbs	0	6(1)	0	0	0	17(2)	27(6)	17(1)	5(1)	17(3)	0	8(14)
Elsewhere in Massachusetts	10(1)	0	8(1)	0	9(1)	0	4(1)	0	0	6(1)	6(1)	4(6)
Other state or country	10(1)	6(1)	0	0	9(1)	8(1)	0	0	0	11(2)	0	4(6)
TOTAL	6(10)	10(16)	7(12)	13(21)	7(11)	7(12)	13(22)	4(6)	12(20)	11(18)	11(18)	100(166)

TABLE 6.2 : OWNERSHIP OR TENANCY OF PREVIOUS RESIDENCE (RECENT BUYERS)

Q: Did you own or rent at your previous residence?

OWN OR RENT PREVIOUS RESIDENCE	STUDY AREA					
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper
Own	10%(1)	50(8)	25(3)	19(4)	46(5)	18(2)
Rent	90(9)	50(8)	75(9)	81(17)	54(6)	82(9)
TOTAL	6(10)	10(16)	7(12)	13(21)	7(11)	7(11)

OWN OR RENT PREVIOUS RESIDENCE	STUDY AREA					
	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Own	27(6)	0	50(10)	17(3)	22(4)	28(46)
Rent	73(16)	100(6)	50(10)	78(14)	78(14)	72(118)
TOTAL	13(22)	4(6)	12(20)	11(17)	11(18)	100(164)

TABLE 6.3 : WHY RECENT BUYERS CONSIDERED MOVING TO AREA

Q: How did you happen to consider moving to this area?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Realtor	5%(1)	0	0	6(2)	0	0	3(1)	30(3)	0	0	5(1)	3(8)
Social attributes of residents	11(2)	14(4)	13(2)	16(5)	27(4)	13(2)	11(4)	20(2)	14(4)	0	15(3)	13(32)
Familiarity with area	5(1)	17(5)	13(2)	19(6)	7(1)	20(3)	17(6)	10(1)	24(7)	20(4)	5(1)	16(37)
Physical and environmental	17(3)	14(4)	27(4)	16(5)	20(3)	27(4)	14(5)	0	21(6)	20(4)	15(3)	17(41)
Access	5(1)	14(4)	7(1)	9(3)	13(2)	0	17(6)	10(1)	10(3)	10(2)	10(2)	11(25)
Other	17(3)	3(1)	7(1)	3(1)	0	7(1)	6(2)	0	10(3)	15(3)	15(3)	8(18)
Price of house	11(2)	21(6)	20(3)	6(2)	7(1)	13(2)	3(1)	0	3(1)	20(4)	5(1)	10(23)
Other attributes of house	17(3)	10(3)	7(1)	13(4)	27(4)	7(1)	11(4)	30(3)	10(3)	5(1)	15(3)	13(30)
Personal reasons	11(2)	7(2)	7(1)	13(4)	0	13(2)	17(6)	0	7(2)	10(2)	15(3)	10(24)
TOTAL	8(18)	12(29)	6(15)	14(32)	6(15)	6(15)	15(35)	4(10)	12(29)	8(20)	8(20)	100(238)

TABLE 6.4: NEGATIVE ASPECTS CONSIDERED BY RECENT BUYERS

Q: In deciding whether to move into the neighborhood, were there any negative aapects you had to consider?

STUDY AREA

NEGATIVE ASPECTS	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Stanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Schools	0	18%(2)	12(1)	0	0	0	0	0	5(1)	0	0	3(4)
Crime and safety	14%(1)	0	12(1)	0	0	0	10(2)	20(1)	0	0	0	4(5)
Physical and environmental	0	0	25(2)	0	10(1)	0	10(2)	0	0	0	0	4(5)
Inconvenience	14(1)	0	12(1)	0	0	0	0	0	5(1)	0	6(1)	3(4)
Racial issue	0	0	0	6(1)	10(1)	9(1)	10(2)	0	5(1)	29(5)	18(3)	10(14)
Near a bad area	14(1)	27(3)	0	12(2)	10(1)	9(1)	33(7)	0	10(2)	0	6(1)	13(18)
Poor city services	14(1)	0	12(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1(2)
Property taxes	0	0	0	0	0	0	10(2)	0	5(1)	6(1)	0	3(4)
Other	14(1)	9(1)	0	12(2)	0	0	5(1)	0	0	6(1)	6(1)	5(7)
No negative aspects considered	28(2)	46(5)	25(2)	69(11)	70(7)	82(9)	24(5)	80(4)	69(13)	59(10)	65(11)	56(79)
TOTAL	5(7)	8(11)	6(8)	11(16)	7(10)	8(11)	15(21)	4(5)	13(19)	12(17)	12(17)	100(142)

TABLE 6.5 : WHAT RECENT BUYERS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD BEFORE MOVING IN

Q: Were there certain things you wanted to know about the neighborhood before moving in?

NEIGHBORHOOD ATTRIBUTES	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Already familiar with neighborhood	17%(2)	40(8)	45(5)	43(10)	17(2)	42(5)	39(11)	57(4)	34(10)	45(9)	13(3)	35(69)
Access	8(1)	5(1)	9(1)	4(1)	0	8(1)	4(1)	0	14(4)	10(2)	13(3)	8(15)
Security	8(1)	5(1)	18(2)	9(2)	0	0	11(3)	14(1)	7(2)	0	9(2)	7(14)
Schools	0	0	0	4(1)	8(1)	0	7(2)	0	10(3)	10(2)	9(2)	6(11)
Churches	0	0	0	0	0	0	4(1)	0	3(1)	5(1)	2(3)	3(6)
Quiet neighborhood	17(2)	5(1)	9(1)	0	17(2)	0	0	0	0	0	22(5)	6(11)
Other attributes	8(1)	15(3)	0	26(6)	33(4)	8(1)	14(4)	0	3(1)	5(1)	4(1)	11(22)
Social attributes of residents	8(1)	20(4)	0	9(2)	17(2)	17(2)	11(3)	14(1)	10(3)	10(2)	26(6)	13(26)
Other	8(1)	5(1)	0	0	8(1)	8(1)	7(2)	0	10(3)	0	0	5(9)
Nothing	25(3)	5(1)	18(2)	4(1)	0	17(2)	4(1)	14(1)	7(2)	15(3)	4(1)	9(17)
TOTAL	6(12)	10(20)	6(11)	12(23)	6(12)	6(12)	14(28)	4(7)	15(29)	10(20)	12(26)	100(200)

TABLE 6.6: SOURCES OF INFORMATION USED IN LOOKING FOR A HOME TO BUY

Q: We are interested in your sources of information. How did you find out the things you wanted to know? (asked only of recent buyers)

SOURCE OF INFORMATION	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Already familiar	18%(2)	21(4)	40(4)	24(4)	10(1)	38(6)	35(9)	38(3)	36(8)	42(8)	16(3)	29(52)
Realtor	27(3)	17(4)	10(1)	18(3)	0	31(5)	12(3)	12(1)	0	21(4)	32(6)	17(30)
Contacts or friends	36(4)	32(6)	40(4)	29(5)	70(7)	25(4)	30(8)	25(2)	50(11)	21(4)	26(5)	34(60)
Government agency	0	0	0	12(2)	0	0	4(1)	0	0	0	0	2(3)
Looked around self	9(1)	21(4)	0	12(2)	10(1)	0	15(4)	12(1)	14(3)	0	21(4)	11(20)
Other	9(1)	5(1)	10(1)	6(1)	10(1)	6(1)	4(1)	12(1)	0	16(3)	5(1)	7(12)
TOTAL	6(11)	11(19)	6(10)	10(17)	6(10)	9(16)	15(26)	4(8)	12(22)	11(19)	11(19)	100(177)

TABLE 6.7: FACTORS WHICH MADE RECENT BUYERS DECIDE TO MOVE IN

Q: What finally made you decide to move into the area?

Why Recent Buyers Would Move from their Present Address?	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	Total
Attributes of House	18(3)	14(3)	31(4)	24(9)	41(7)	25(6)	29(11)	33(3)	33(10)	10(2)	33(10)	26(68)
Social Attributes of Residents	12(2)	24(5)	8(1)	16(6)	12(2)	8(2)	24(9)	0	10(3)	5(1)	13(4)	14(35)
Location	6(1)	14(3)	15(2)	13(5)	12(2)	8(2)	11(4)	11(1)	17(5)	5(1)	13(4)	12(30)
Physical and Environmental	29(5)	14(3)	31(4)	26(10)	24(4)	29(7)	18(7)	11(1)	3(1)	10(2)	7(2)	18(46)
Price of Housing	24(4)	24(5)	15(2)	16(6)	12(2)	21(5)	16(6)	22(2)	17(5)	29(6)	30(9)	20(52)
Other	12(2)	10(2)	0	5(2)	0	8(2)	3(1)	22(2)	20(6)	43(9)	3(1)	10(27)
Total	7(17)	8(21)	5(13)	15(38)	7(17)	9(24)	15(38)	3(9)	12(30)	8(21)	12(30)	100(258)

TABLE 6.8 : RACIAL STATUS by WHERE RESIDENTS ANTICIPATE MOVING

Q: Where would you move?

ETHNIC BACKGROUND

RACIAL STATUS		Elsewhere in Neighborhood	Elsewhere in City	Suburbs	Out of State	Out of Mass.	Indeterminate	Do Not Know	Total
White	COUNT	(2)	(5)	(21)	(9)			(5)	
	ROW PCT	5	12	50	21	0	0	12	44(42)
	COL PCT	29	46	53	41			63	
Hispanic		0	0	(1) 50 3	(1) 50 5	0	0	0	2 (2)
Black		(2) 8 29	(3) 13 27	(6) 23 15	(9) 35 41	(2) 8 50	(2) 8 67	(2) 8 25	27(26)
Other		(1) 10 14	(1) 10 9	(7) 70 18	(1) 10 5	0	0	0	10(10)
Combinations		(2) 13 29	(2) 13 18	(5) 33 13	(2) 13 9	(2) 13 50	(1) 8 33	(1) 7 13	16(15)
TOTAL		7(7)	12(11)	42(40)	23(22)	4(4)	3(3)	8(8)	100(95)

TABLE 6.9: WHERE ELSE RECENT BUYERS CONSIDERED LOOKING

Q: Where else did you consider looking for a place to live?

	STUDY AREA											
CONSIDERATIONS	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Stanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Unspecified area in Boston	11%(1)	11(2)	0	4(1)	12(1)	0	0	40(2)	0	5(1)	0	4(8)
Jamaica Plain	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10(2)	0	1(2)
Dorchester	11(1)	6(1)	12(2)	4(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	9(2)	4(7)
Roxbury	11(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4(1)	1(2)
Mattapan	0	0	19(3)	0	0	9(1)	7(2)	0	0	0	4(1)	4(7)
Elsewhere in present area	22(2)	0	0	8(2)	12(1)	18(2)	18(5)	0	10(2)	5(1)	4(1)	9(16)
Elsewhere in Boston	11(1)	11(2)	25(4)	0	0	9(1)	4(1)	0	0	5(1)	14(3)	7(13)
Nowhere else	22(2)	50(9)	19(3)	44(11)	62(5)	18(2)	33(9)	40(2)	47(9)	33(7)	18(4)	35(63)
Unspecified suburban area	11(1)	11(2)	0	4(1)	12(1)	0	4(1)	0	10(2)	5(1)	4(1)	6(10)
South Shore suburbs	0	6(1)	6(1)	16(4)	0	18(2)	15(4)	0	26(5)	24(5)	23(5)	15(27)
Other than South Shore suburbs	0	0	6(1)	12(3)	0	18(2)	15(4)	0	5(1)	0	14(3)	8(14)
Other	0	6(1)	12(2)	8(2)	0	9(1)	4(1)	20(1)	0	14(3)	4(1)	7(12)
TOTAL	5(9)	10(18)	9(16)	14(25)	4(8)	6(11)	15(27)	3(5)	10(19)	12(21)	12(22)	100(181)

TABLE 6.10: NUMBER OF PLACES RECENT BUYERS LOOKED

Q: Where else did you consider looking for a place to live?

	STUDY AREA					
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper
One	43%(3)	50(3)	56(5)	29(2)	100(3)	75(6)
Two	57(4)	50(3)	11(1)	29(2)	0	12(1)
Three	0	0	22(2)	14(1)	0	12(1)
Four	0	0	0	29(2)	0	0
Five	0	0	11(1)	0	0	0
TOTAL	8(7)	7(6)	10(9)	8(7)	3(3)	9(8)

	STUDY AREA					
	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
One	54(7)	100(3)	80(8)	64(7)	46(6)	59(53)
Two	31(4)	0	0	0	23(3)	20(18)
Three	8(1)	0	20(2)	27(3)	23(3)	14(13)
Four	8(1)	0	0	9(1)	8(1)	6(5)
Five	0	0	0	0	0	1(1)
TOTAL	14(13)	3(3)	11(10)	12(11)	14(13)	100(90)

TABLE 6.11: OWNERSHIP OR TENANCY OF PRESENT RESIDENCE (LONG-TERM RESIDENTS ONLY)

Q: Do you own or rent your house?

	STUDY AREA					
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper
Own	76%(13)	78(14)	75(12)	82(18)	59(10)	40(8)
Rent	12(2)	22(4)	25(4)	18(4)	41(7)	60(12)
Other	12(2)	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	8(17)	9(18)	8(16)	11(22)	8(17)	10(20)

	STUDY AREA					
	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Own	90(17)	43(13)	74(17)	78(14)	90(19)	75(156)
Rent	10(2)	7(1)	26(6)	22(4)	10(2)	24(49)
Other	0	0	0	0	0	1(2)
TOTAL	9(19)	7(14)	11(23)	9(18)	10(21)	100(207)

TABLE 7.1 : RESIDENTS' PERCEIVED PROPERTY MAINTENANCE

Q: Would you say that people in your neighborhood are: maintaining, improving or letting their property go?

PERCEIVED PROPERTY MAINTENANCE	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Maintaining	27%(4)	40(4)	78(14)	38(6)	38(6)	46(6)	29(6)	30(6)	38(6)	33(4)	35(7)	33(4)
Improving	7(1)	0	11(2)	25(4)	6(1)	31(4)	24(5)	40(8)	6(1)	25(3)	10(2)	17(2)
Letting go	33(5)	10(1)	0	13(2)	31(5)	0	10(2)	5(1)	19(3)	25(3)	15(3)	0
Half maintaining half improving	7(1)	10(1)	0	19(3)	19(3)	15(2)	19(4)	5(1)	13(2)	8(1)	10(2)	42(5)
Half maintaining half letting go	27(4)	40(4)	11(2)	6(1)	6(1)	0	14(3)	5(1)	13(2)	0	20(4)	8(1)
Other combinations	0	0	0	0	0	0	5(1)	10(2)	13(2)	0	5(1)	0
Do not know	0	0	0	0	0	8(1)	0	5(1)	0	8(1)	5(1)	0
TOTAL	7(15)	6(10)	9(18)	10(16)	8(16)	8(13)	10(21)	12(20)	8(16)	7(12)	10(20)	7(12)

TABLE 7.1 : RESIDENTS' PERCEIVED PROPERTY MAINTENANCE (cont'd)

PERCEIVED PROPERTY MAINTENANCE	STUDY AREA										ROW TOTAL	
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton			
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Maintaining	56%(10)	27(6)	43(6)	83(5)	70(16)	40(8)	78(14)	67(12)	65(15)	56(10)	51(104)	43(71)
Improving	28(5)	46(10)	7(1)	17(1)	13(3)	20(4)	11(2)	17(3)	9(2)	22(4)	12(25)	26(43)
Letting go	0	0	36(5)	0	0	0	11(2)	0	0	0	12(25)	4(7)
Half maintaining half improving	17(3)	23(5)	14(2)	0	9(2)	35(7)	0	17(3)	22(5)	22(4)	12(24)	19(32)
Half maintaining half letting go	0	5(1)	0	0	9(2)	5(1)	0	0	4(1)	0	9(19)	5(9)
Other combinations	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(4)	1(2)
Do not know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0(1)	2(3)
TOTAL	9(18)	13(22)	7(14)	4(6)	11(23)	12(20)	9(18)	11(18)	11(23)	11(18)	100(202)	100(167)

TABLE 7.2 : RESIDENTS' PERCEIVED PROPERTY MAINTENANCE BY PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES

Q: Would you say that people in your neighborhood are maintaining, improving, or letting their property go? Since moving in, would you say that property values have risen, stayed the same, or fallen?

PERCEIVED DIRECTION OF PROPERTY VALUES		PROPERTY MAINTENANCE: Maintaining		Improving		Letting go		Half maintaining, half improving		Half maintaining, half letting go		Other combinations		Do not know		ROW TOTAL	
		LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Risen	COUNT	(21)	(12)	(9)	(19)	0	(1)	(4)	(12)	(1)	(4)	0	(2)	0	0		
	ROW PCT	60%	24	26	38	0	2	11	24	3	8	0	4	0	0	21(35)	35(50)
	COL PCT	27%	21	43	48	0	14	21	44	6	57	0	100	0	0		
Stayed the same		(28)	(35)	(4)	(16)	(1)	0	(4)	(11)	(1)	(2)	0	0	(1)	0		
		72	55	10	25	3	0	10	17	3	3	0	0	2	0	24(39)	45(64)
		35	60	19	40	4	0	21	41	6	29	0	0	100	0		
Fallen		(28)	(9)	(7)	(3)	(21)	(6)	(11)	(4)	(15)	(1)	(4)	0	0	(2)		
		33	36	8	12	24	24	13	16	17	4	5	0	0	8	52(86)	18(25)
		35	16	33	8	88	86	58	15	88	14	100	0	0	100		
Other		(2)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
		40	50	20	50	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3(5)	3(4)
		3	3	5	5	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
TOTAL		48(79)	41(58)	13(21)	28(40)	14(24)	5(7)	12(19)	19(27)	10(17)	5(7)	2(4)	1(2)	1(1)	1(2)	100(165)	100(143)

TABLE 7.4 : KINDS OF REPAIRS RESIDENTS HAVE MADE TO THEIR HOMES

	Long-Term Residents		Recent Buyers		Totals	
Kind of Repair	%	No.	%	No.	LT	RB
Regular Maintenance:						
Interior	48%	(84)	43%	(80)	48%	43%
Repair Defects:						
Interior	13	(23)	12	(22)	28%	24%
Exterior	14	(25)	12	(23)		
Major Changes:						
Interior	16	(28)	23	(43)	24%	32%
Exterior	8	(14)	9	(16)		
Total	100%	(174)	100%	(184)		

Note: 162 long-term residents interviewed reported 174 repairs; 146 recent buyers reported 184 repairs.

TABLE 7.5 : EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS DID REGULAR MAINTENANCE ON THEIR HOMES

	Long-Term Residents				Recent Buyers			
	Interior		Unspecified		Interior		Unspecified	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Round Hill	91%	(10)	9%	(1)	80%	(4)	20%	(1)
Sedgwick	100	(6)	0	0	92	(12)	8	(1)
Elm Hill	90	(9)	10	(1)	100	(7)	0	0
Sav-Mor	90	(9)	10	(1)	73	(8)	27	(3)
Cushing	100	(11)	0	0	100	(9)	0	0
Draper	100	(9)	0	0	50	(3)	50	(3)
Melville-Park	70	(7)	30	(3)	92	(12)	8	(1)
Edson-Torrey	88	(7)	12	(1)	67	(2)	33	(1)
Minot	69	(9)	31	(4)	91	(10)	9	(1)
Sanford-Cedar	36	(4)	64	(7)	67	(4)	33	(2)
Savannah-Taunton	23	(3)	77	(10)	75	(9)	25	(3)
Totals	75%	(84)	25%	(28)	86%	(80)	28%	(16)

TABLE 7.6: EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS ARE REPAIRING DEFECTS IN THEIR HOMES

	Long-Term Residents				Recent Buyers			
	Interior		Unspecified		Interior		Unspecified	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Round Hill	75%	(3)	25%	(1)	100%	(1)	0%	0
Sedgwick	100	(3)	0	0	67	(4)	33	(2)
Elm Hill	25	(1)	75	(3)	60	(3)	40	(2)
Sav-Mor	45	(4)	55	(5)	75	(3)	25	(1)
Cushing	50	(2)	50	(2)	50	(1)	50	(1)
Draper	50	(2)	50	(2)	50	(1)	50	(1)
Melville-Park	0	0	100	(3)	60	(3)	40	(2)
Edson-Torrey	33	(1)	67	(2)	33	(1)	67	(2)
Minot	43	(3)	57	(4)	37	(3)	63	(5)
Sanford-Cedar	100	(2)	0	0	29	(2)	71	(5)
Savannah-Taunton	40	(2)	60	(3)	0	0	100	(2)
Total	48%	(23)	52%	(25)	48%	(22)	49%	(23)

TABLE 7.7: EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS MADE MAJOR CHANGES IN THEIR HOMES

	Long-Term Residents				Recent Buyers			
	Interior		Unspecified		Interior		Unspecified	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Round Hill	0%	0	100%	(1)	50%	(2)	50%	(2)
Sedgwick	33	(1)	67	(2)	75	(3)	25	(1)
Elm Hill	40	(2)	60	(3)	100	(2)	0	0
Sav-Mor	100	(5)	0	0	100	(8)	0	0
Cushing	80	(4)	20	(1)	67	(4)	33	(2)
Draper	100	(1)	0	0	100	(3)	0	0
Melville-Park	100	(3)	0	0	75	(9)	25	(3)
Edson-Torrey	60	(3)	40	(2)	100	(2)	0	0
Minot	0	0	100	(2)	75	(3)	25	(1)
Sanford-Cedar	75	(3)	25	(1)	30	(3)	70	(7)
Savannah-Taunton	75	(6)	25	(2)	100	(4)	0	0
Totals	67%	(28)	33%	(14)	73%	(43)	27%	(16)

TABLE 7.9 : PERCENTAGE OF EXPECTED REPAIRS BY SALES PRICE OF RECENT BUYERS' HOMES

House Price	Total number of repairs	% of prices paid	% of repairs made	% of expected repairs
under $5,000	21	11%	10%	90%
$5-10,000	12	6	6	100
$10-15,000	34	18	16	89
$15-20,000	56	23	26	113
$20-25,000	51	22	24	109
$25-30,000	23	12	11	92
$30-35,000	14	7	7	100
$35-40,000	4	2	2	100

TABLE 7.10 : EXTENT TO WHICH RESIDENTS ANTICIPATE MAKING REPAIRS

Q: Do you anticipate making any repairs or improvements in the near future?

STUDY AREA

	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	39(5)	90(9)	57(8)	93(14)	80(12)	89(8)	75(15)	88(15)	56(9)	67(8)	42(8)	73(8)
No	54(7)	0(0)	36(5)	7(1)	0(0)	11(1)	20(4)	6(1)	38(6)	17(2)	37(7)	27(3)
Not Sure	8(1)	10(1)	7(1)	0(0)	20(3)	0(0)	5(1)	6(1)	6(1)	17(2)	21(4)	0(0)
TOTAL	7(13)	7(10)	7(14)	10(15)	8(15)	6(9)	11(20)	11(17)	9(16)	8(12)	10(19)	7(11)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	68(13)	67(12)	60(9)	83(5)	52(11)	50(10)	39(7)	77(13)	22(4)	93(14)	54(101)	77(116)
No	21(4)	22(4)	40(6)	0(0)	24(5)	45(9)	39(7)	18(3)	61(11)	0(0)	33(62)	16(24)
Not Sure	11(2)	11(2)	0(0)	17(1)	24(5)	5(1)	22(4)	6(1)	17(3)	7(1)	13(25)	7(10)
TOTAL	10(19)	12(18)	8(15)	4(6)	11(21)	13(20)	10(18)	11(17)	10(18)	10(15)	100(188)	100(150)

TABLE 8.1: DAILY NEWSPAPER READ

: Do you read a daily newspaper regularly? If so, which one(s)?

STUDY AREA

EWSPAPER	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
lobe	64%(10)	64(6)	29(4)	61(9)	38(6)	54(6)	35(7)	50(10)	56(9)	33(4)	30(6)	27(3)
erald American	7(1)	11(1)	21(3)	13(2)	19(3)	9(1)	30(6)	25(5)	12(2)	8(1)	40(8)	18(2)
lobe & Herald	20(3)	0	50(7)	13(2)	19(3)	9(1)	15(3)	5(1)	19(3)	17(2)	25(5)	27(3)
ther	7(1)	11(1)	0	0	0	0	0	5(1)	0	0	0	0
one	0	11(1)	0	13(2)	25(4)	27(3)	20(4)	15(3)	12(2)	42(5)	5(1)	27(3)
TOTAL	8(15)	6(9)	7(14)	9(15)	8(16)	7(11)	10(20)	13(20)	8(16)	8(12)	10(20)	7(11)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
lobe	32%(6)	54(12)	43(6)	17(1)	27(6)	60(12)	50(8)	67(12)	38(8)	57(8)	39(76)	53(83)
erald American	37(7)	14(3)	43(6)	33(2)	14(3)	25(5)	6(1)	11(2)	10(2)	14(2)	22(42)	16(26)
lobe & Herald	32(6)	14(3)	14(2)	17(1)	36(8)	15(3)	31(5)	6(1)	38(8)	21(3)	27(53)	13(20)
ther	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1(1)	1(2)
one	0	18(4)	0	33(2)	23(5)	0	12(2)	17(3)	14(3)	7(1)	11(21)	17(27)
TOTAL	10(19)	14(22)	7(14)	4(6)	11(22)	13(20)	8(16)	11(18)	11(21)	9(14)	100(193)	100(158)

TABLE 8.2 : WEEKLY NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSPAPER READ

Q: Do you read a weekly neighborhood newspaper?

STUDY AREA

	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	75%(9)	10(1)	67(8)	69(9)	57(8)	54(6)	53(9)	39(7)	58(7)	10(1)	29(5)	36(4)
No	25(3)	90(9)	33(4)	31(4)	43(6)	45(5)	47(8)	61(11)	42(5)	90(9)	71(12)	64(7)
TOTAL	7(12)	7(10)	7(12)	10(13)	8(14)	8(11)	10(17)	13(18)	7(12)	7(10)	10(17)	8(11)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	56(10)	32(7)	50(7)	60(3)	70(14)	74(14)	43(6)	36(5)	15(3)	31(4)	48(81)	43(58)
No	44(8)	68(15)	50(7)	40(2)	30(6)	26(5)	57(8)	64(9)	85(17)	69(9)	52(88)	57(77)
TOTAL	11(18)	16(22)	8(14)	4(5)	12(20)	14(19)	8(14)	10(14)	12(20)	10(13)	100(169)	100(135)

TABLE 8.3 : WHICH NEIGHBORHOOD PAPER READ

Q: Do you read a weekly newspaper? If so, which one(s)?

NEWSPAPER	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Jamaica Plain Citizen	71%(5)	0	75(6)	78(7)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bay State Banner	0	0	0	0	100(8)	83(5)	100(9)	100(7)	0	0	0	0
Dorchester Argus Citizen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	86(6)	0	100(3)	75(3)
Neponset Scene	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dorchester Community News	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25(1)
Real Paper, Pheonix	14(1)	0	0	11(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
More than one	14(1)	0	12(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other not Globe	0	100(1)	12(1)	11(1)	0	17(1)	0	0	14(1)	100(1)	0	0
TOTAL	8(7)	2(1)	10(8)	15(9)	10(8)	10(6)	11(9)	12(7)	8(7)	2(1)	4(3)	7(4)

TABLE 8.3: WHICH NEIGHBORHOOD PAPER READ (cont'd)

Q: Do you read a weekly newspaper? If so, which one(s)?

NEWSPAPER	STUDY AREA: Melville-Park LT	Melville-Park RB	Edson-Torrey LT	Edson-Torrey RB	Minot LT	Minot RB	Sanford-Cedar LT	Sanford-Cedar RB	Savannah-Taunton LT	Savannah-Taunton RB	ROW TOTAL LT	ROW TOTAL RB
Jamaica Plain Citizen	30%(3)	0	0	0	7(1)	0	0	0	0	0	18(15)	12(7)
Bay State Banner	0	14(1)	0	33(1)	0	0	0	0	0	67(2)	20(17)	27(16)
Dorchester Argus Citizen	60(6)	43(3)	100(7)	0	47(7)	36(5)	17(1)	20(1)	0	0	36(30)	20(12)
Neponset Scene	0	0	0	0	40(6)	21(3)	0	0	0	0	7(6)	5(3)
Dorchester Community News	0	29(2)	0	67(2)	7(1)	0	0	40(2)	0	0	1(1)	12(7)
Real Paper, Pheonix	0	14(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1(1)	3(2)
More than one	0	0	0	0	0	29(4)	67(4)	0	0	0	7(6)	7(4)
Other not Globe	10(1)	0	0	0	0	14(2)	17(1)	40(2)	100(3)	33(1)	8(7)	15(9)
TOTAL	12(10)	12(7)	8(7)	5(3)	18(15)	17(14)	7(6)	8(5)	4(3)	5(3)	100(83)	100(60)

TABLE 8.4: MOST RECENT NEIGHBORHOOD NEWSPAPER ARTICLE REMEMBERED

Q: What was the most recent newspaper article you remember reading about your neighborhood?

STUDY AREA

REACTION	Round Hill LT	Round Hill RB	Sedgwick LT	Sedgwick RB	Elm Hill LT	Elm Hill RB	Sav-Mor LT	Sav-Mor RB	Cushing LT	Cushing RB	Draper LT	Draper RB
Negative	56%(5)	50(2)	0	40(2)	38(3)	67(4)	67(2)	58(5)	17(1)	0	60(3)	0
Positive-Neutral	22(2)	25(1)	33(2)	0	25(2)	0	0	11(1)	67(4)	100(1)	40(2)	75(3)
Schools and busing	0	0	17(1)	0	12(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	25(1)
Other	22(2)	25(1)	50(3)	60(3)	25(2)	33(2)	33(1)	33(3)	17(1)	0	0	0
TOTAL	12(9)	7(4)	8(6)	8(5)	10(8)	10(6)	4(3)	15(9)	8(6)	2(1)	6(5)	7(4)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park LT	Melville-Park RB	Edson-Torrey LT	Edson-Torrey RB	Minot LT	Minot RB	Sanford-Cedar LT	Sanford-Cedar RB	Savannah-Taunton LT	Savannah-Taunton RB	ROW TOTAL LT	ROW TOTAL RB
Negative	60%(6)	71(5)	0	50(1)	21(3)	27(3)	67(2)	67(4)	33(3)	20(1)	36(28)	45(27)
Positive-Neutral	30(3)	29(2)	60(3)	50(1)	50(7)	46(5)	0	0	33(3)	20(1)	36(28)	25(15)
Schools and busing	0	0	20(1)	0	0	0	33(1)	0	0	0	5(4)	2(1)
Other	10(1)	0	20(1)	0	29(4)	27(3)	0	33(2)	33(3)	60(3)	23(18)	28(17)
TOTAL	13(10)	12(7)	6(5)	3(2)	18(14)	18(11)	4(3)	10(6)	12(9)	8(5)	100(78)	100(60)

TABLE 8.5 : LOCAL TV NEWS PROGRAMS WATCHED BY LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

): Do you watch local TV news programs regularly? If so, which channel(s)?

	STUDY AREA											
CHANNEL	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Channel 2	6%(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5(1)
Channel 4	18(3)	6(1)	13(2)	35(7)	6(1)	42(8)	28(5)	7(1)	8(2)	28(5)	14(3)	19(38)
Channel 5	18(3)	18(3)	40(6)	5(1)	24(4)	0	22(4)	14(2)	26(6)	22(4)	24(5)	19(38)
Channel 7	12(2)	12(2)	0	10(2)	18(3)	26(5)	11(2)	14(2)	4(1)	11(2)	24(5)	13(26)
Combinations	12(2)	12(2)	7(1)	20(4)	6(1)	10(2)	6(1)	7(1)	22(5)	6(1)	19(4)	12(24)
Not applicable	29(5)	18(3)	20(3)	15(3)	6(1)	21(4)	0	14(2)	9(2)	17(3)	10(2)	17(3)
Other	6(1)	35(6)	20(3)	15(3)	41(7)	0	33(6)	43(6)	30(7)	17(3)	10(2)	22(44)
TOTAL	8(17)	8(17)	8(15)	10(20)	8(17)	10(19)	9(18)	7(14)	12(23)	9(18)	11(21)	100(199)

TABLE 8.6 : LOCAL TV NEWS PROGRAMS WATCHED BY RECENT BUYERS

Q: Do you watch local TV news programs regularly? If so, which channel(s)?

	STUDY AREA											
CHANNEL	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Channel 2	0	0	0	5(1)	0	0	4(1)	17(1)	0	6(1)	0	3(4)
Channel 4	0	13(2)	20(2)	15(3)	17(2)	0	14(3)	33(2)	16(3)	29(5)	13(2)	15(24)
Channel 5	33(3)	48(7)	60(6)	5(1)	33(4)	18(2)	36(8)	17(1)	42(8)	24(4)	40(6)	32(50)
Channel 7	11(1)	7(1)	0	25(5)	17(2)	18(2)	4(1)	0	10(2)	18(3)	0	11(17)
Combinations	22(2)	13(2)	0	15(3)	0	27(3)	9(2)	17(1)	0	0	27(4)	11(17)
Not applicable	22(2)	13(2)	20(2)	20(4)	33(4)	18(2)	14(3)	17(1)	10(2)	12(2)	7(1)	16(25)
Other	11(1)	7(1)	0	15(3)	0	18(2)	18(4)	0	21(4)	12(2)	13(2)	12(19)
TOTAL	6(9)	10(15)	6(10)	13(20)	8(12)	7(11)	14(22)	4(6)	12(19)	11(17)	10(15)	100(156)

TABLE 8.7: REACTION TO TV NEWS COVERAGE

Q: What did you think of the coverage?

STUDY AREA

REACTION	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Accurate	40%(2)	60(3)	25(1)	20(2)	50(5)	25(1)	15(2)	8(1)	0	20(1)	0	40(2)
Inaccurate, biased	20(1)	0	25(1)	20(2)	20(2)	25(1)	23(3)	38(5)	0	0	43(3)	0
Other	0	0	25(1)	10(1)	0	0	0	15(2)	17(1)	0	0	0
Positive unspecified	20(1)	0	25(1)	40(4)	10(1)	0	31(4)	23(3)	50(3)	20(1)	57(4)	20(1)
Negative unspecified	20(1)	20(1)	0	0	20(2)	0	15(2)	8(1)	33(2)	60(3)	0	20(1)
Mixed positive and negative	0	20(1)	0	10(1)	0	50(2)	15(2)	8(1)	0	0	0	20(1)
TOTAL	5(5)	6(5)	4(14)	11(10)	11(10)	4(4)	14(13)	14(13)	6(6)	6(5)	8(7)	6(5)

STUDY AREA

REACTION	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Accurate	0	0	17(1)	25(1)	10(1)	12(1)	38(3)	30(3)	0	10(1)	16(15)	18(16)
Inaccurate, biased	20(3)	6(1)	17(1)	50(2)	50(5)	25(2)	12(1)	0	65(5)	40(4)	27(25)	19(17)
Other	7(1)	0	17(1)	0	10(1)	0	12(1)	10(1)	12(1)	20(2)	8(7)	7(6)
Positive unspecified	53(8)	59(10)	33(2)	25(1)	20(2)	38(3)	12(1)	50(5)	12(1)	10(1)	30(28)	32(29)
Negative unspecified	13(2)	18(3)	0	0	10(1)	25(2)	12(1)	0	0	10(1)	12(11)	13(12)
Mixed positive and negative	7(1)	18(3)	17(1)	0	0	0	12(1)	10(1)	12(1)	10(1)	6(6)	12(11)
TOTAL	16(15)	19(17)	6(6)	4(4)	11(10)	9(8)	9(8)	11(10)	8(8)	6(10)	100(92)	100(91)

TABLE 8.8; LAST TV COVERAGE REMEMBERED

Q: What was the last TV news story or show you recall seeing about Dorchester/Roxbury/Jamaica Plain?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Dorchester: A View from Melville Park	0	0	6(1)	0	0	0	0	5(1)	7(1)	9(1)	21(4)	0
Negative	29%(4)	30(3)	12(2)	12(2)	27(4)	11(1)	15(3)	5(1)	20(3)	18(2)	0	20(2)
Positive	29(4)	0	6(1)	31(5)	7(1)	0	20(4)	42(8)	27(4)	0	10(2)	10(1)
Other	14(2)	0	24(4)	31(5)	20(3)	33(3)	10(2)	0	13(2)	27(3)	0	10(1)
Do not know	21(3)	60(6)	47(8)	19(3)	33(5)	44(4)	55(11)	21(4)	33(5)	27(3)	47(9)	40(4)
Not applicable	7(1)	10(1)	6(1)	6(1)	13(2)	11(1)	0	26(5)	0	18(2)	21(4)	20(2)
TOTAL	7(14)	7(10)	9(17)	11(16)	8(15)	6(9)	10(20)	13(19)	8(15)	7(11)	10(19)	7(10)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Dorchester: A View from Melville Park	83%(15)	89(16)	29(4)	0	17(4)	17(3)	7(1)	6(1)	4(1)	0	16(31)	15(22)
Negative	6(1)	6(1)	0	17(1)	13(3)	11(2)	20(3)	18(3)	23(5)	14(2)	15(28)	14(20)
Positive	6(1)	0	7(1)	17(1)	9(2)	22(4)	7(1)	24(4)	0	21(3)	11(21)	18(26)
Other	0	0	14(2)	17(1)	13(3)	6(1)	0	24(4)	23(5)	21(3)	12(23)	14(21)
Do not know	6(1)	0	43(6)	33(2)	26(6)	33(6)	53(8)	24(4)	41(9)	36(5)	37(71)	28(41)
Not applicable	0	6(1)	7(1)	17(1)	22(5)	11(2)	13(2)	6(1)	9(2)	7(1)	9(18)	12(18)
TOTAL	9(18)	12(18)	7(14)	4(6)	12(23)	12(18)	8(15)	11(17)	11(22)	9(14)	100(192)	100(148)

TABLE 8.9: PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL NEWSPAPER COVERAGE

): What did you think of the article? (interesting, accurate, etc.)

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
REACTION	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Positive	100%(5)	67(2)	100(5)	50(2)	33(2)	20(1)	50(1)	38(3)	100(4)	100(1)	83(5)	50(1)
Negative	0	33(1)	0	50(2)	33(2)	60(3)	0	38(3)	0	0	17(1)	50(1)
Mixed negative and positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Indeterminate	0	0	0	0	33(2)	20(1)	50(1)	25(2)	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	8(5)	6(3)	8(5)	8(4)	9(6)	11(5)	3(2)	17(8)	6(4)	2(1)	9(6)	4(2)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
REACTION	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Positive	67%(6)	40(2)	0	0	75(9)	67(6)	50(1)	50(3)	75(6)	50(2)	69(44)	49(23)
Negative	11(1)	0	20(1)	0	8(1)	11(1)	0	0	12(1)	50(2)	11(7)	28(13)
Mixed negative and positive	0	20(1)	0	0	0	0	0	17(1)	12(1)	0	2(1)	4(2)
Indeterminate	22(2)	40(2)	80(4)	0	17(2)	22(2)	50(1)	33(2)	0	0	19(12)	19(9)
TOTAL	14(9)	11(5)	8(5)	0	19(12)	19(9)	3(2)	13(6)	12(8)	8(4)	100(64)	100(47)

TABLE 9.1 : "DORCHESTER: A VIEW FROM MELVILLE PARK" AUDIENCE

Q: Do you recall seeing a TV show called "Dorchester: A View from Melville Park"?

STUDY AREA

	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	18%(2)	0	44(7)	7(1)	12(2)	10(1)	38(8)	20(4)	38(6)	42(5)	29(4)	25(3)
No	82(9)	100(9)	50(8)	93(14)	81(13)	90(9)	57(12)	80(16)	62(10)	58(7)	71(10)	75(9)
Do not know	0	0	6(1)	0	6(1)	0	5(1)	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	6(11)	5(9)	8(16)	9(15)	8(16)	6(10)	11(21)	12(20)	8(16)	7(12)	8(14)	7(12)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	79%(15)	91(20)	29(4)	17(1)	48(11)	30(6)	47(8)	50(13)	32(7)	15(2)	39(74)	34(56)
No	21(4)	9(2)	71(10)	83(5)	52(12)	70(14)	53(9)	50(13)	68(15)	85(11)	59(112)	66(109)
Do not know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(3)	0
TOTAL	10(19)	13(22)	7(14)	4(6)	12(23)	12(20)	9(17)	16(26)	12(22)	8(13)	100(189)	100(165)

TABLE 9.2 : REACTIONS TO "DORCHESTER: A VIEW FROM MELVILLE PARK"

Q: Do you recall seeing a TV show called "Dorchester: A View from Melville Park"? What did you think of it?

STUDY AREA

REACTION	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Positive	13%(2)	0	19(3)	6(1)	7(1)	0	23(5)	0	31(5)	18(2)	22(4)	17(2)
Negative	0	0	12(2)	0	0	10(1)	5(1)	6(1)	0	0	17(3)	8(1)
Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	9(2)	0	0	18(2)	0	0
Not applicable	87(13)	100(10)	69(11)	94(15)	93(14)	90(9)	64(14)	95(16)	69(11)	64(7)	61(11)	75(9)
TOTAL	3 (15)	6 (10)	8 (16)	10 (16)	8 (15)	6 (10)	11 (22)	11 (17)	8 (16)	7 (11)	9 (18)	8 (12)

STUDY AREA

REACTION	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Positive	29%(5)	39(7)	13(2)	17(1)	29(6)	16(3)	29(5)	12(2)	22(7)	11(2)	23(45)	13(20)
Negative	12(2)	22(4)	13(2)	0	0	0	0	0	4(1)	0	6(11)	5(7)
Mixed	17(3)	17(3)	7(1)	0	5(1)	5(1)	0	6(1)	0	0	3(5)	3(5)
Other	17(3)	11(2)	0	0	14(3)	5(1)	12(2)	0	4(1)	0	6(11)	3(5)
Not applicable	23(4)	11(2)	67(10)	83(5)	52(11)	74(14)	59(10)	82(14)	70(16)	89(16)	63(125)	76(117
TOTAL	9 (17)	12 (18)	8 (15)	4 (6)	11 (21)	12 (19)	9 (17)	11 (17)	13 (25)	12 (18)	100(197)	100(15

TABLE 9.3: ADVERTISING AUDIENCE OF "DORCHESTER: A VIEW FROM MELVILLE PARK"

Q: Do you recall seeing a TV show called "Dorchester: A View from Melville Park"? Did you see it advertised?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	30%(3)	14(1)	40(2)	29(2)	21(3)	20(2)	27(4)	44(8)	47(7)	33(3)	47(7)	70(7)
No	70(7)	86(6)	60(3)	71(5)	77(11)	80(8)	73(11)	56(10)	53(8)	67(6)	53(8)	30(3)
TOTAL	7(10)	6(7)	3(5)	6(7)	10(14)	8(10)	10(15)	15(18)	10(15)	7(9)	10(15)	8(10)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	100%(17)	100(14)	73(8)	25(1)	67(10)	56(10)	64(7)	64(7)	44(8)	46(6)	52(76)	50(61)
No	0	0	27(3)	75(3)	33(5)	44(8)	36(4)	36(4)	56(10)	54(7)	48(70)	50(61)
TOTAL	12(17)	12(14)	8(11)	3(4)	10(15)	15(18)	8(11)	9(11)	12(18)	11(13)	100(146)	100(121)

TABLE 9.4: SOURCES OF "DORCHESTER: A VIEW FROM MELVILLE PARK" ADVERTISING CONSUMED

): Where did you see the show advertised?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
THERE SEEN	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
'V	67%(2)	100(1)	100(1)	50(1)	0	100(1)	33(1)	50(2)	75 (6)	0	14(1)	14(1)
ewspaper	0	0	0	0	100(2)	0	33(1)	33(2)	13 (1)	50(1)	71(5)	86(6)
eople	0	0	0	50(1)	0	0	0	17(1)	13 (1)	0	14(1)	0
ther	33(1)	0	0	0	0	0	33(1)	0	0	50(1)	0	0
TOTAL	4(3)	2 (1)	1 (1)	4(2)	3(2)	2(1)	4(3)	11(6)	11(8)	4(2)	10 (7)	13 (7)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
'V	35%(6)	23(1)	14(1)	0	20(2)	50(5)	83(5)	33(5)	33(2)	40(2)	39(27)	35(19)
ewspaper	18(3)	31(4)	57(4)	100(1)	50(5)	10(1)	17(1)	0	33(2)	20(1)	34(24)	30(16)
eople	41(7)	31(4)	29(2)	0	10(1)	40(4)	0	50(3)	33(2)	20(1)	20(14)	6(14)
ther	6(1)	15(2)	0	0	20(2)	0	0	17(1)	0	20(1)	7(5)	9(5)
TOTAL	24(17)	24(13)	10(7)	2(1)	14(10)	19(10)	9(6)	11(6)	9(6)	9(5)	100(70)	100(54)

TABLE 9.5: DORCHESTER/JAMAICA PLAIN POSTER AUDIENCE

Q: Do you recall seeing in the last few years a poster on Dorchester (Jamaica Plain)?

STUDY AREA

	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	36%(5)	86(6)	50(7)	40(6)	14(1)	12(1)	18(3)	19(3)	33(5)	25(3)	6(1)	30(3)
No	64(9)	14(1)	50(7)	60(9)	86(6)	88(7)	82(14)	81(13)	67(10)	75(9)	94(15)	70(7)
TOTAL	8(14)	5(7)	8(14)	11(15)	4(7)	6(8)	10(17)	12(16)	9(15)	9(12)	10(16)	8(10

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	53%(10)	45(9)	31(4)	17(1)	14(3)	33(6)	29(4)	21(3)	0	14(1)	26(43)	32(42)
No	47(9)	55(10)	69(9)	83(5)	86(19)	67(12)	71(10)	79(11)	100(17)	86(6)	74(125)	68(90)
TOTAL	11(19)	14(19)	8(13)	5(6)	13(22)	14(18)	8(14)	11(14)	10(17)	5(7)	100(168)	100(132

TABLE 9.6: PEOPLE WHO HAVE COPY OF DORCHESTER/JAMAICA PLAIN POSTER

Q: Do you have a copy of the poster yourself?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	43%(3)	0	100(4)	29(2)	0	0	0	17(2)	31(4)	60(3)	0	60(3)
No	57(4)	100(7)	0	71(5)	100(6)	100(7)	100(9)	83(10)	69(9)	40(2)	100(10)	40(2)
TOTAL	8(7)	9(7)	5(4)	9(7)	7(6)	9(7)	11(9)	16(12)	16(13)	7(5)	12(10)	7(5)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Yes	40(4)	64(7)	0	0	20(1)	20(2)	75(3)	0	0	0	23(19)	25(19)
No	60(6)	36(4)	100(5)	100(4)	80(4)	80(8)	25(1)	100(3)	100(9)	100(4)	77(63)	75(56)
TOTAL	12(10)	15(11)	6(5)	5(4)	6(5)	13(10)	5(4)	4(3)	11(9)	5(4)	100(82)	100(75)

TABLE A3.1: AGE OF RECENT BUYERS

AGE	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Over 65	60%(6)	6(1)	38(5)	35(7)	54(6)	17(2)	9(2)	0	20(4)	22(4)	50(9)	28(46)
55 - 64	0	0	15(2)	5(1)	0	0	18(4)	17(1)	10(2)	11(2)	0	7(12)
45 - 54	10(1)	25(4)	38(5)	20(4)	0	17(2)	4(1)	17(1)	20(4)	17(3)	6(1)	16(26)
35 - 44	0	6(1)	8(1)	25(5)	18(2)	25(3)	45(10)	50(3)	20(4)	6(1)	33(6)	22(36)
25 - 34	20(2)	56(9)	0	15(3)	18(2)	42(5)	23(5)	17(1)	30(6)	44(8)	11(2)	26(43)
Under 25	10(1)	6(1)	0	0	9(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2(3)
TOTAL	6(10)	10(16)	8(13)	12(20)	7(11)	7(12)	13(22)	4(6)	12(20)	11(18)	11(18)	100(166)

TABLE A3.2: AGE OF LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

AGE	STUDY AREA					
	Round Hill	Sedgwick	Elm Hill	Sav-Mor	Cushing	Draper
Over 65	31(5)	28(5)	31(5)	32(7)	41(7)	40(8)
55-64	38(6)	50(9)	56(9)	36(8)	24(4)	35(7)
45-54	12(2)	11(2)	6(1)	23(5)	24(4)	10(2)
35-44	6(1)	6(1)	6(1)	9(2)	12(2)	15(3)
25-34	6(1)	0	0	0	0	0
Under 25	6(1)	6(1)	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	8(16)	9(18)	8(16)	11(22)	8(17)	10(20)

AGE	STUDY AREA					
	Melville-Park	Edson-Torrey	Minot	Sanford-Cedar	Savannah-Taunton	ROW TOTAL
Over 65	42(8)	40(6)	56(13)	39(7)	30(7)	38(78)
55-64	37(7)	20(3)	13(3)	44(8)	26(6)	34(70)
45-54	16(3)	33(5)	17(4)	17(3)	35(8)	19(39)
35-44	5(1)	0	4(1)	0	9(2)	7(14)
25-34	0	7(1)	0	0	0	1(2)
Under 25	0	0	9(2)	0	0	2(4)
TOTAL	9(19)	7(15)	11(23)	9(18)	11(23)	100(207)

TABLE A3.3 SEX OF RESPONDENT

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
SEX	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Female	53%(9)	20(2)	56(10)	75(12)	69(11)	38(5)	59(13)	62(13)	53(9)	50(6)	55(11)	75(9)
Male	41(7)	80(8)	38(7)	19(3)	31(5)	62(8)	41(9)	38(8)	47(8)	50(6)	45(9)	17(2)
Unknown	6(1)	0	6(1)	6(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8(1)
TOTAL	8(17)	6(10)	9(18)	10(16)	8(16)	8(13)	11(22)	13(21)	8(17)	7(12)	10(20)	7(12)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Female	53%(10)	64(14)	47(7)	33(2)	61(14)	80(16)	83(15)	67(12)	74(17)	40(7)	61(126)	58(98)
Male	47(9)	36(8)	53(8)	67(4)	39(9)	20(4)	17(3)	33(6)	26(6)	44(8)	38(80)	39(65)
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17(3)	1(2)	2(4)
TOTAL	9 (19)	13(22)	7(15)	4(6)	11(23)	12(20)	9(18)	11(18)	11(23)	11(18)	100(208)	100(168

TABLE A3.4: HOUSEHOLD RACIAL STATUS

): What is your family's ethnic background?

STUDY AREA

RACIAL STATUS	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
White	44%(7)	14(1)	81(13)	33(5)	0	0	15(3)	10(1)	78(11)	10(1)	82(14)	45(5)
Hispanic	6(1)	29(2)	0	7(1)	0	17(1)	0	0	0	20(2)	0	9(1)
Black	6(1)	14(1)	0	0	100(16)	83(5)	75(15)	90(9)	0	40(4)	0	36(4)
Other	19(3)	14(1)	6(1)	47(7)	0	0	5(1)	0	14(2)	20(2)	0	0
Combinations	25(4)	29(2)	12(2)	13(2)	0	0	5(1)	0	7(1)	10(1)	18(3)	9(1)
TOTAL	8(16)	5(7)	8(16)	11(15)	8(16)	5(6)	10(20)	8(10)	7(14)	8(10)	9(17)	8(11)

STUDY AREA

RACIAL STATUS	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
White	31(9)	63(12)	54(7)	0	68(15)	95(19)	80(12)	35(6)	63(12)	0	52(103)	38(50)
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1(1)	5(7)
Black	0	32(6)	8(1)	75(3)	0	0	0	12(2)	0	78(11)	17(33)	34(45)
Other	48(14)	5(1)	23(3)	0	18(4)	0	0	6(1)	26(5)	14(2)	17(33)	11(14)
Combinations	21 (6)	0	15(2)	25(1)	14(3)	5(1)	20(3)	47(8)	10(2)	7(1)	14(27)	13(17)
TOTAL	15(29)	14(19)	7(13)	3(4)	11(22)	15(20)	8(15)	13(17)	10(19)	11(14)	100(197)	100(133)

Explanation: The surveys asked people to indicate their ethnic background. We coded their answers so as to report their racial status.

TABLE A 3.5 : OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENT AND SPOUSE

Q: What kind of work do you do? What kind of work does your spouse do?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
OCCUPATION	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Professional	9%(2)	0	10(3)	27(8)	25(6)	19 (4)	25 (9)	24(9)	0	22 (4)	0	5(1)
Manager	0	12(2)	3(1)	6(2)	4(1)	10 (2)	6 (2)	0	7(2)	6 (1)	9 (3)	0
Sales worker	4(1)	12(2)	0	0	0	5 (1)	0	0	0	6 (1)	0	0
Clerical	17(4)	12(2)	10(3)	10(3)	4(1)	0	14(5)	13(4)	20 (6)	6 (1)	6 (2)	10(2)
Craft people	4(1)	6(1)	17(5)	10(3)	18(3)	14 (3)	3(1)	10(3)	17(5)	6 (1)	3 (1)	20(4)
Operatives	4(1)	6(1)	3(1)	3(1)	0	14 (3)	3(1)	10(3)	7(2)	17 (3)	3 (1)	10(2)
Laborers	0	0	7(2)	3(1)	8(2)	10 (2)	6 (2)	0	0	6 (1)	0	0
Service workers	13(3)	44 (7)	3(1)	13(4)	17(4)	0	8(3)	20(6)	10(3)	22 (4)	13 (4)	20(4)
Housewife	22(5)	0	30(9)	20(6)	8(2)	24 (5)	11(4)	6(2)	20 (6)	6 (1)	34 (11)	25(5)
Retired	13(3)	0	17(5)	3(1)	21(5)	0	17 (6)	6(2)	17(5)	0	25 (8)	0
Unemployed	13(3)	6(1)	0	3(1)	0	5 (1)	8(3)	6(2)	3(1)	6 (1)	6 (2)	10(2)
TOTAL	7 (23)	6(16)	9 (30)	11 (30)	7 (24)	8(21)	11(36)	11 (31)	9(30)	6(18)	10(32)	7 (20)

TABLE A 3.5 : OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENT AND SPOUSE (cont'd)

OCCUPATION	STUDY AREA: Melville-Park LT	Melville-Park RB	Edson-Torrey LT	Edson-Torrey RB	Minot LT	Minot RB	Sanford-Cedar LT	Sanford-Cedar RB	Savannah-Taunton LT	Savannah-Taunton RB	ROW TOTAL LT	ROW TOTAL RB
Professional	10 (3)	33(12)	5(1)	0	3(1)	3(1)	8(2)	10(3)	3 (1)	25(7)	9(28)	18(49)
Manager	3(1)	8(3)	0	11(1)	15(5)	8(3)	4(1)	3(1)	3 (1)	14(4)	5(17)	7(19)
Sales worker	3(1)	3(1)	5(1)	0	3(1)	5(2)	8(2)	3(1)	0	3(1)	2(6)	3(9)
Clerical	7 (2)	8(3)	10(2)	22(2)	0	10(4)	15(4)	13(4)	11(4)	14(4)	10(33)	10(29)
Craft people	10 (3)	3(1)	14(3)	0	9(3)	10(4)	8(2)	13(4)	8(3)	7(2)	9(30)	9(26)
Operatives	3(1)	3(1)	5(1)	0	0	8(3)	0	13(4)	5(2)	21(6)	3(10)	10(27)
Laborers	3(1)	6(2)	0	11(1)	6(2)	3(1)	4(1)	3(1)	3(1)	0	12(37)	3(9)
Service workers	17 (5)	22(8)	10(2)	22(2)	15(5)	10(4)	4(1)	10(3)	16(6)	7(2)	12(37)	16(44)
Housewife	28 (8)	6(2)	24(5)	33(3)	27 (9)	31(12)	19(5)	23(7)	30(11)	7(2)	23(75)	16(45)
Retired	14 (4)	3(1)	29(6)	0	26(7)	3(1)	31(8)	7(2)	19(7)	0	20(64)	3(7)
Unemployed	0	6(2)	0	0	0	10(4)	0	0	3(1)	0	3(10)	5(14)
TOTAL	9(29)	13 (36)	8 (21)	3 (9)	10 (33)	14 (39)	8 (26)	11 (30)	12 (37)	10 (28)	100(321)	100(27

TABLE A3.6 : LOCATION OF JOB BY OCCUPATION
(RESPONDENT AND SPOUSE)

	OCCUPATION											
LOCATION	Profes-sional	Manager	Sales	Clerical	Crafts-person	Operative	Laborer	Service worker	Housewife	Retired	Not in la-bor force	ROW TOTAL
Neighborhood	(13)	(13)	(4)	(11)	(11)	(7)	(1)	(23)	(3)	(1)	(1)	
	38%	38	4	12	12	8	1	26	3	1	1	25(88)
	19%	42	31	22	25	24	6	32	23	9	33	
Downtown	(17)	(7)	(6)	(25)	(8)	(2)	(8)	(26)	(4)	(3)	(1)	
Boston	16	6	6	23	7	2	7	24	4	3	.9	30(107)
	25	22	46	49	18	7	50	37	31	27	33	
Elsewhere	(23)	(6)	(2)	(9)	(9)	(11)	(3)	(13)	(1)	(5)	(1)	
in Boston	28	7	2	11	11	13	4	16	1	6	1	24(83)
	33	19	15	18	20	38	19	18	8	45	33	
Outside	(16)	(4)	(1)	(6)	(12)	(7)	(4)	(6)	(3)	(2)	0	
Boston	26	6	2	10	20	11	6	10	5	3	0	17(61)
	23	13	8	12	27	24	25	8	23	18	0	
Other	0	(1)	0	0	(4)	(2)	0	(3)	(2)	0	0	
	0	8	0	0	33	17	0	25	17	0	0	3(12)
	0	3	0	0	9	7	0	4	15	0	0	
TOTAL	19(69)	8(31)	4(13)	14(51)	12(44)	8(29)	4(16)	20(71)	4(13)	3(11)	.8(3)	100(351)

TABLE A 3.7: EDUCATION LEVEL OF RESPONDENT AND SPOUSE

Q: What was the last grade of school you completed? And your spouse?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
EDUCATION LEVEL	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Less than high school	32%(8)	24(4)	10(2)	25(7)	23(5)	50(10)	22(6)	36(8)	21(5)	25(5)	40(8)	20(3)
High school	36(9)	24(4)	58(11)	36(10)	32(7)	25(5)	30(8)	27(6)	54(13)	55(11)	55(11)	53(8)
College	24(6)	47(8)	16(3)	21(6)	36(8)	25(5)	44(12)	27(6)	25(6)	15(3)	5(1)	20(3)
Graduate school	8(2)	6(1)	16(3)	18(5)	9(2)	0	4(1)	9(2)	0	5(1)	0	7(1)
TOTAL	9 (25)	6 (17)	7 (19)	11 (28)	8 (22)	8 (20)	10 (27)	8 (22)	9 (24)	8 (20)	7 (20)	6 (15)

	STUDY AREA											
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Less than high school	6%(2)	6(2)	5(1)	50(5)	9 (3)	5(2)	14(3)	20(6)	0	7(2)	16(43)	21(54)
High school	77(24)	39(13)	79(15)	40(4)	47 (16)	67(26)	38(8)	47(14)	76(25)	48(14)	53(147)	44(115)
College	16(5)	12(4)	10(2)	10(1)	41 (14)	26(10)	38(8)	20(6)	24(8)	38(11)	27(73)	24(63)
Graduate school	0	42(14)	5(1)	0	3 (1)	3 (1)	10(2)	13(4)	0	7(2)	4(12)	12(31)
TOTAL	11 (31)	13 (33)	7 (19)	4 (10)	12(34)	15 (39)	8 (21)	11 (30)	12 (33)	11 (29)	100(275)	100(26

TABLE A 3.8 : NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

Q: How many children live with you?

STUDY AREA

NUMBER	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
One	12%(1)	16(1)	50(1)	25(3)	0	9(1)	12(2)	24(4)	0	17(2)	21(3)	8(1)
Two	38(3)	16(1)	0	33(4)	0	9(1)	6(1)	29(5)	20(3)	25(3)	14(2)	17(2)
Three	0	50(3)	0	8(1)	8(1)	18(2)	0	12(2)	7(1)	25(3)	7(1)	33(4)
Four	0	17(1)	50(1)	8(1)	0	27(3)	0	0	0	8(1)	0	8(1)
Five+	25(2)	0	0	0	0	18(2)	0	0	13(2)	8(1)	0	17(2)
None	25(2)	0	0	8(1)	92(11)	18(2)	82(14)	35(6)	60(9)	17(2)	57(8)	17(2)
TOTAL	6(8)	4(6)	1(2)	7(10)	9(12)	8(11)	13(17)	13(17)	11(15)	9(12)	10(14)	9(12)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
One	29%(4)	25(3)	8(1)	17(1)	0	16(3)	38(5)	29(4)	6(1)	33(5)	13(18)	21(28)
Two	14(2)	17(2)	17(2)	17(1)	0	26(5)	15(2)	21(3)	18(3)	27(4)	13(18)	23(31)
Three	0	8(1)	0	33(2)	33(4)	16(3)	0	0	18(3)	20(3)	7(10)	18(24)
Four	7(1)	8(1)	8(1)	0	8(1)	21(4)	8(1)	14(2)	6(1)	13(2)	4(6)	12(16)
Five+	7(1)	42(5)	0	0	17(2)	0	0	0	12(2)	0	7(9)	7(10)
None	43(6)	0	67(8)	33(2)	42(2)	21(4)	38(5)	36(5)	41(7)	7(1)	55(75)	19(25)
TOTAL	10(14)	9(12)	9(12)	4(6)	9(12)	14(19)	10(13)	10(14)	13(17)	11(15)	100(136)	100(134)

TABLE A 3.9 : PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Q: Do you participate in any community, church or other local organization? If so, which one?

STUDY AREA

ORGANIZATION	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Church	50%(7)	40(2)	78(7)	30(3)	44(7)	57(4)	50(9)	47(7)	35(6)	50(5)	35(5)	25(3)
Racial equality	0	0	11(1)	0	12(2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	8(1)
Neighborhood association	36(5)	0	11(1)	50(5)	6(1)	0	17(3)	20(3)	18(3)	20(2)	0	8(1)
Political	0	20(1)	0	10(1)	0	14(1)	0	13(2)	0	10(1)	0	8(1)
Other	7(1)	40(2)	0	10(1)	6(1)	14(1)	11(2)	0	11(2)	0	13(2)	8(1)
None	7(1)	0	0	0	31(5)	14(1)	22(4)	20(3)	35(6)	20(2)	53(8)	42(5)
TOTAL	10 (14)	4 (5)	6 (9)	9 (10)	11 (16)	6 (7)	12 (18)	13 (15)	12 (17)	9 (10)	10 (15)	11 (12)

STUDY AREA

	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah-Taunton		ROW TOTAL	
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
Church	56%(9)	22(4)	71(5)	100(5)	62(8)	22(4)	73(8)	43(3)	100(9)	17(1)	55(80)	36(41)
Racial equality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17(1)	2(3)	2(2)
Neighborhood association	12(2)	61(11)	0	0	15(2)	17(3)	18(2)	14(1)	0	17(1)	13(19)	24(27)
Political	0	0	0	0	8(1)	0	0	29(2)	0	0	1(1)	8(9)
Other	12(2)	6(1)	29(2)	0	8(1)	17(3)	9(1)	14(1)	0	50(3)	10(14)	12(13)
None	19(3)	11(2)	0	0	8(1)	44(8)	0	0	0	0	19(28)	19(21)
TOTAL	11 (16)	16 (18)	5 (7)	4 (5)	9 (13)	16 (18)	8 (11)	6 (7)	6 (9)	5 (6)	100(145)	100(113)

TABLE A3.10: TYPE OF SCHOOLS CHILDREN ATTEND

Q: Of those children who are of school age, how many attend: public school, parochial school, or private school?

	STUDY AREA											
	Round Hill		Sedgwick		Elm Hill		Sav-Mor		Cushing		Draper	
TYPE OF SCHOOL	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
One or more to public	20%(1)	60(3)	100(1)	75(6)	0	67(6)	100(1)	75(6)	0	88(7)	50(2)	67(6)
One or more to parochial	20(1)	0	0	12(1)	0	0	0	0	80(4)	0	25(1)	11(1)
One or more to private	20(1)	40(2)	0	12(1)	0	22(2)	0	12(1)	0	0	25(1)	0
Both public and private	40(2)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12(1)	0	22(2)
Combinations	0	0	0	0	0	11(1)	0	12(1)	20(1)	0	0	0
TOTAL	10(5)	6(5)	2(1)	9(8)	0	10(9)	2(1)	9(8)	10(5)	9(8)	8(4)	10(9)

TABLE A3.10: TYPE OF SCHOOLS CHILDREN ATTEND (cont'd)

TYPE OF SCHOOL	STUDY AREA										ROW TOTAL	
	Melville-Park		Edson-Torrey		Minot		Sanford-Cedar		Savannah–Taunton			
	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB	LT	RB
One or more to public	29%(2)	46(5)	75(3)	66(2)	29(2)	23(3)	17(1)	50(3)	33(3)	80(8)	33(16)	61(55)
One or more to parochial	29(2)	27(3)	25(1)	33(1)	43(3)	62(8)	50(3)	50(3)	11(1)	10(1)	33(16)	20(18)
One or more to private	0	0	0	0	14(1)	0	33(2)	0	22(2)	0	14(7)	7(6)
Both public and private	29(2)	27(3)	0	0	14(1)	15(2)	0	0	22(2)	0	14(7)	9(8)
Combinations	14(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11(1)	10(1)	6(3)	3(3)
TOTAL	14(7)	12(11)	8(4)	3(3)	14(7)	14(13)	12(6)	7(6)	18(9)	11(10)	100(49)	100(90)

APPENDIX V : PROFILES OF STUDY NEIGHBORHOODS

The profiles of our study neighborhoods that follow were developed in the course of building a sample for the telephone survey of households. We assembled this data in order to inform interviewers about key neighborhood characteristics and to assist with subsequent analysis of the survey data. The profiles combine information from the City's "Annual Listing of Residents" (The Police Census), real estate transaction records and the 1970 U.S. Census Block Statistics.

In using these profiles it is important to bear in mind the following considerations:

1) The information about a specific study neighborhood is obviously a function of the geographic boundaries of the neighborhoods. Therefore it is essential to remember that the criteria used in defining the study neighborhood varied. The neighborhoods were defined by Neighborhood Confidence project staff in consultation with other city personnel. Considerations included: (a) a desire to identify areas with a soft housing market where the project had particularly strong prospects of being effective; (b) the need to cover a range of neighborhood types -- in terms of turnover rate, population composition, quality of housing stock; (c) the project's need to know more about areas experiencing change, but with which project staff were relatively unfamiliar; and (d) the decision to concentrate project research on neighborhoods of relatively small scale (2,000-4,000 residents)

As a result some of the study areas are "natural" neighborhoods, identified as such by residents; others are not.

2) To avoid generalizing about the larger areas within which the study neighborhoods lie or the areas with which they overlap,popularly accepted names such as Ronan Park, Uphams Corner etc. were not used. New names were created from the names of primary streets. The exceptions were Melville Park and Sav-Mor, where study neighborhood boundaries and popular definitions coincide.

3) The 1970 Census information is intended as a guide. Some characteristics, such as racial composition, have since changed significantly in several neighborhoods. The aggregate figures on population and the number of housing units are more likely to be accurate for 1977, although it should be recognized that in some neighborhoods these too may have altered.

4) The study neighborhood boundaries do not coincide precisely with the census blocks, but this discrepancy is usually no more than one side of a few streets.

5) Our purpose in examining the real estate records was to develop a sample of approximately fifty of the most recent buyers for each neighborhood. Hence the period for which buyer (and seller) information was collected varies as a function of neighborhood size and rate of property turnover.

6) Characteristics of buyers were determined by matching real estate records with the subsequent year's "Annual Listing of Residents." Since the 1978 list of Residents is not available, no

information is presented on 1977 buyers.

7) "Owner-Occupant" buyers were determined using the method described in 6) above. As a check on the accuracy of the "Annual Listing of Residents" telephone numbers were also sought for buyers who did not appear in The Listing.

8) "Non-owner occupant" buyers are those who could not be identified as residents through the above methods. They include:

a) Absentee landlords

b) Landlords living in the same or adjacent streets.

c) Prospective residents fixing up houses for their own future occupancy.

9) "Total Households" = Total Occupied Housing Units (U.S. Census Block Statistics 1970).

10) "Long-term residents" are defined as those living in the neighborhood ten or more years, i.e. appearing in both the 1967 and 1977 "Annual Listing of Residents."

11) The "Stability Index" shows long-term resident households as a proportion of all households. For purposes of computing this ratio, we assumed the total number of households in 1970 to be the same as in 1977. There is, of course, some error in this procedure since in a few of the study neighborhoods the number of households has decreased appreciably.

12) Occupational categories are derived from the 1970 U.S. Census classifications.

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE
Neighborhood Confidence Project
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

#1 Round Hill - Jamaica Plain

Total Population 1970

Total Population	3312
% Black	3%
% Under 18	38%
% 62 and over	13%
Total Households	996
Ave. number persons per household	3.33
% One person households	16.1%
% female-headed households	15.9%

This material is intended for project staff use only. Proper interpretation requires reference to the attached memorandum.

LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	197
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	19.8%

Age:

20-44	12.2%
45-64	50.3%
65+	37.6%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	18.8%
Housewife	15.7%
Clerical	11.2%
Craftsman	10.7%

RECENT BUYERS
(1976 - 77)

Total	49
Total excluding 1977	33
% Owner Occupants	45.5%
% Non-owner Occupants	54.5%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	15

Age:

20-44	75.0% (6)
45-64	25.0% (2)
65+	-
Not Stated	7

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Laborer	33.0% (3)
Service	22.0% (2)
Clerical	22.0% (2)

RECENT SELLERS
(1976 -77)

Total	49
Total excluding 1977	33
% Owner Occupants	45.5%
% Non-owner Occupants	54.5%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	15

Age:

20-44	20.0% (3)
45-64	13.3% (2)
65+	66.7% (10)
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	26.7% (4)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 996

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 15.5%

% Owner-occupied units 29.3%

Average # rooms 6.3

Average value $13,400

% Black-owned 2.0%

% Renter-occupied 65.0%

Average # rooms 4.9

Average value $85

% Black-renter 4.0%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	-	-	-	$12,000 n=34	$11,000 n=16
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	-	-	-	.852 n=18	.799 n=8

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 31

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Roxbury-Highland Coop Bank	32.3% (10)
Boston Five Cents Savings Bank	12.9% (4)
Charlestown Savings Bank	9.7% (3)
Seller	16.1% (5)

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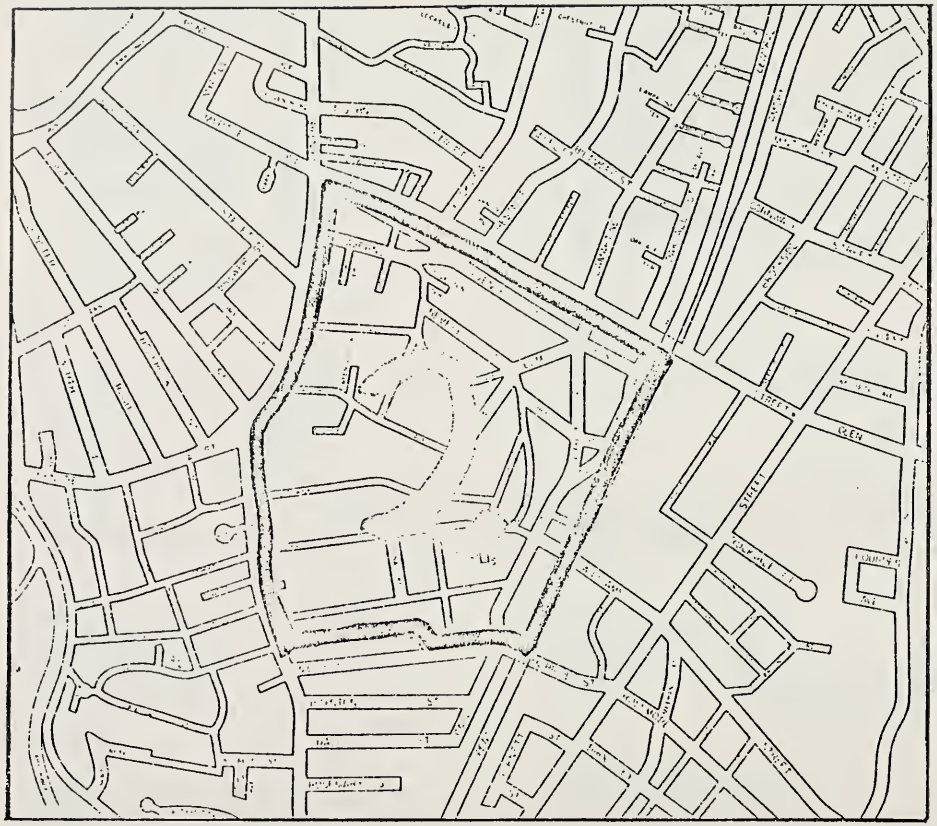
#2 *Sedgewick - Jamaica Plain*



Total Population 1970

Total Population	2482
% Black	1%
% Under 18	22%
% 62 and over	27%
Total Households	809
Ave. number persons per household	3.1
% One person households	27.6%
% female-headed households	14.0%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	209
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	25.8%

Age:

20-44	10.5%
45-64	37.8%
65+	51.7%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Housewife	28.7%
Retired	21.2%
Clerical	12.6%
Craftsman	9.2%
Laborer	9.2%

RECENT BUYERS
(1972-77)

Total	57
Total excluding 1977	50
% Owner Occupants	58.0%
% Non-owner Occupants	42.0%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	29

Age:

20-44	88.0% (22)
45-64	12.0% (3)
65+	-
Not Stated	4

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Professional	36.0% (9)
Clerical	16.0% (4)
Craftsman	12.0% (3)
Retired	12.0% (3)

RECENT SELLERS
(1972-77)

Total	57
Total excluding 1977	50
% Owner Occupants	50.0%
% Non-owner Occupants	50.0%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	25

Age:

20-44	40.0% (10)
45-64	36.0% (9)
65+	24.0% (6)
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Craftsman	20.0% (5)
Housewife	20.0% (5)
Retired	16.0% (4)
Professional	12.0% (3)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total	809
% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes)	16.4%
% Owner-occupied units	28.4%
Average # rooms	6.4
Average value	$16,700
% Black-owned	-
% Renter-occupied	67.5%
Average # rooms	4.1
Average value	$94
% Black-rented	-

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	$21,700 n=15	$22,000 n=12	$ 9,300 n=14	$25,000 n=7	$20,200 n=7
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	.842 n=13	.807 n=10	.668 n=5	.750 n=6	.706 n=1

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages	38
Lending Institutions with most loans:	
Jamaica Plain Coop Bank	18.4% (7)
Roxbury-Highland Coop Bank	10.5% (4)
Charlestown Savings Bank	10.5% (4)
Boston Five Cents Savings Bank	7.9% (3)
Seller	13.2% (5)

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE
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#3 Elm Hill - Roxbury

Total Population 1970

Total Population	2035
% Black	94%
% Under 18	35%
% 62 and over	7%
Total Households	772
Ave. number persons per household	2.6
% One person households	20.7%
% female-headed households	23.7%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	168
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	21.8%

RECENT BUYERS
(1970 - 77)

Total	54
Total excluding 1977	51
% Owner Occupants	43.1%
% Non-owner Occupants	56.9%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	22

RECENT SELLERS
(1970 - 77)

Total	54
Total excluding 1977	51
% Owner Occupants	25.5%
% Non-owner Occupants	76.4%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	13

Age:

20-44	12.5%
45-64	49.4%
65+	38.1%
Not Stated	-

Age:

20-44	57.1% (8)
45-64	42.9% (6)
65+	-
Not Stated	8

Age:

20-44	15.4% (2)
45-64	46.1% (6)
65+	38.5% (5)
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Clerical	19.9%
Housewife	18.7%
Professional	13.3%
Operative	11.4%

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Professional	38.4% (5)
Craftsman	15.4% (2)
Laborer	15.4% (2)

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	23.1% (3)
Laborer	15.4% (2)
Professional	15.4% (2)
Operative	15.4% (2)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total	772
% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes)	3.0%
% Owner-occupied units	15.4%
Average # rooms	6.6
Average value	-
% Black-owned	91%
% Renter-occupied	77.8%
Average # rooms	4.5
Average value	$109
% Black-rented	94%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	$18,500 n=6	$13,600 n=8	$29,300 n=4	$18,300 n=4	$14,600 n=11	$ 5,000 n=5	$ 6,500 n=3
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	.934 n=6	.961 n=6	.731 n=4	.658 n=2	.862 n=4	-	.800 n=1

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages	32
Lending Institutions with most loans:	
Provident Institution for Savings	15.6% (5)
Charlestown Savings Bank	9.4% (3)
Unity Bank & Trust Co.	6.3% (2)
City of Boston Employees' Credit Union	6.3% (2)
Seller	18.8% (6)

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Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

#4 Sav-Mor - Roxbury

Total Population 1970

Total Population	3811
% Black	88%
% Under 18	36%
% 62 and over	12%
Total Households	1360
Ave. number persons per household	2.8
% One person households	23.5%
% female-headed households	19.9%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	277
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	20.4%

Age:

20-44	7.2%
45-64	52.3%
65+	40.4%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Housewife	19.1%
Retired	14.1%
Laborer	13.3%
Craftsman	11.6%

RECENT BUYERS
(1972 - 77)

Total	68
Total excluding 1977	67
% Owner Occupants	47.8%
% Non-owner Occupants	52.2%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	32

Age:

20-44	64.0% (16)
45-64	28.0% (7)
65+	8.0% (2)
Not Stated	7

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Laborer	19.2% (5)
Professional	15.4% (4)
Clerical	15.4% (4)
Service	11.5% (3)
Craftsman	11.5% (3)
Operative	11.5% (3)

RECENT SELLERS
(1972 - 77)

Total	68
Total excluding 1977	67
% Owner Occupants	26.9%
% Non-owner Occupants	73.1%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	18

Age:

20-44	16.7% (3)
45-64	50.0% (9)
65+	33.3% (6)
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Laborer	22.2% (4)
Professional,	11.1% (2)
Craftsman	11.1% (2)
Operative	11.1% (2)
Retired	11.1% (2)
Clerical	11.1% (2)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total	1360
% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes)	10.6%
% Owner-occupied units	21.7%
Average # rooms	6.3
Average value	$10,700
% Black-owned	85%
% Renter-occupied	67.9%
Average # rooms	4.4
Average value	$92
% Black-Rented	90%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	$12,000 n=1	$13,000 n=15	$10,500 n=8	$ 2,800 n=25	$ 6,500 n=14	$10,000 n=1
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	.971 n=1	.898 n=13	.929 n=4	.609 n=4	.918 n=4	.800 n=1

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages	31

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Malmart Mortgage Co.	19.4% (6)
Boston Progressive Credit Union	9.7% (3)
Unity Bank & Trust	9.7% (3)
Charlestown Savings Bank	9.7% (3)
Seller	22.6% (7)

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE
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Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

#5 Cushing - Dorchester

Total Population 1970

Total Population	2558
% Black	4%
% Under 18	33%
% 62 and over	18%
Total Households	877
Ave. number persons per household	2.9
% One person households	25.7
% female-headed households	14.6%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	151
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	17.2%

Age:

20-44	9.3%
45-64	42.4%
65+	48.3%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	23.2%
Housewife	18.5%
Clerical	10.6%
Craftsman	10.6%
Professional	8.6%

RECENT BUYERS
(1975 - 77)

Total	45
Total excluding 1977	45
% Owner Occupants	37.8%
% Non-owner Occupants	62.2%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	17

Age:

20-44	81.8% (9)
45-64	9.1% (1)
65+	9.1% (1)
Not Stated	6

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Laborer	36.4% (4)
Clerical	27.3% (3)
Craftsman	18.2% (2)

RECENT SELLERS
(1975 - 77)

Total	45
Total excluding 1977	45
% Owner Occupants	28.9%
% Non-owner Occupants	71.1%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	13

Age:

20-44	9.1% (1)
45-64	54.5% (6)
65+	36.4% (4)
Not Stated	2

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Clerical	18.2% (2)
Craftsman	18.2% (2)
Housewife	18.2% (2)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 877

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 12.0%

% Owner-occupied units 24.4%

Average # rooms 6.8

Average value $13,500

% Black-owned 3%

% Renter-occupied 69.3%

Average # rooms 4.3

Average value $100

% Black-rented 4%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	-	-	$10,200 n=29	$ 9,500 n=22	-
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	-	-	.850 n=10	.889 n=13	-

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

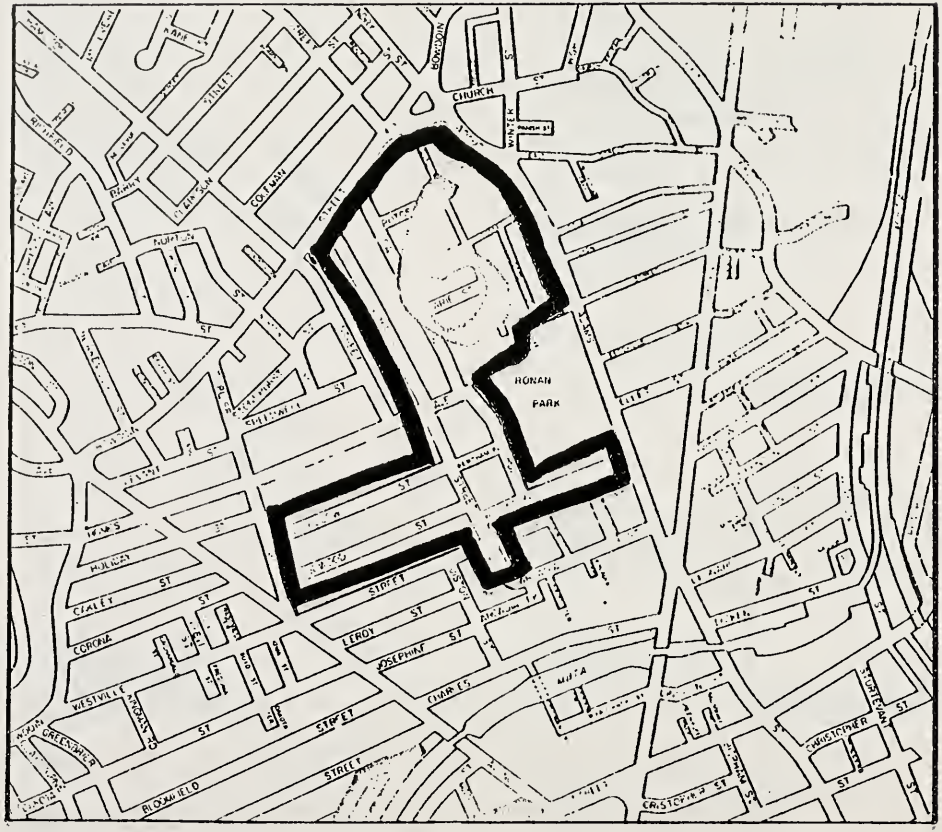
Total # Mortgages 23

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Dorchester Savings Bank	17.4% (4)
South Boston Savings Bank	8.7% (2)
Malmart Mortgage Co.	8.7% (2)
Shawmut Bank of Boston	8.7% (2)
Seller	34.8% (8)

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE
Neighborhood Confidence Project
Department of Urban Studies and Planning
Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

#6 Draper - Dorchester



Total Population 1970

Total Population	2413
% Black	-
% Under 18	35%
% 62 and over	14%
Total Households	714
Ave. number persons per household	3.4
% One person households	12.6%
% female-headed households	17.9%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	211
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	29.6%

Age:

20-44	7.6%
45-64	43.6%
65+	48.8%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	24.7%
Clerical	14.7%
Housewife	12.4%
Craftsman	10.5%

RECENT BUYERS
(1975 - 77)

Total	51
Total excluding 1977	44
% Owner Occupants	40.9%
% Non-owner Occupants	59.1%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	18

Age:

20-44	75.0% (12)
45-64	25.0% (4)
65+	-
Not Stated	2

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Service	25.0% (4)
Craftsman	18.8% (3)

RECENT SELLERS
(1975 - 77)

Total	51
Total excluding 1977	44
% Owner Occupants	50.0%
% Non-owner Occupants	50.0%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	22

Age:

20-44	28.6% (6)
45-64	28.6% (9)
65+	42.9% (9)
Not Stated	1

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	23.8% (5)
Craftsman	19.0% (4)
Housewife	14.3% (3)
Clerical	14.3% (3)

#6 Draper

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 714

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 4.3%

% Owner-occupied units 31.5%

Average # rooms 6.1

Average value $16,000

% Black-owned -

% Renter-occupied 65.8%

Average # rooms 5.3

Average value $85

% Black-rented -

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	-	-	$13,000 n=19	$14,800 n=26	$ 7,800 n=7
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	-	-	.944 n=9	.929 n=15	.882 n=2

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 30

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Malmart Mortgage Co.	20.0% (6)
Dorchester Savings Bank	16.7% (5)
Provident Institution for Savings	13.3% (4)
Merchants Coop Bank	6.7% (2)
Seller	16.7% (5)

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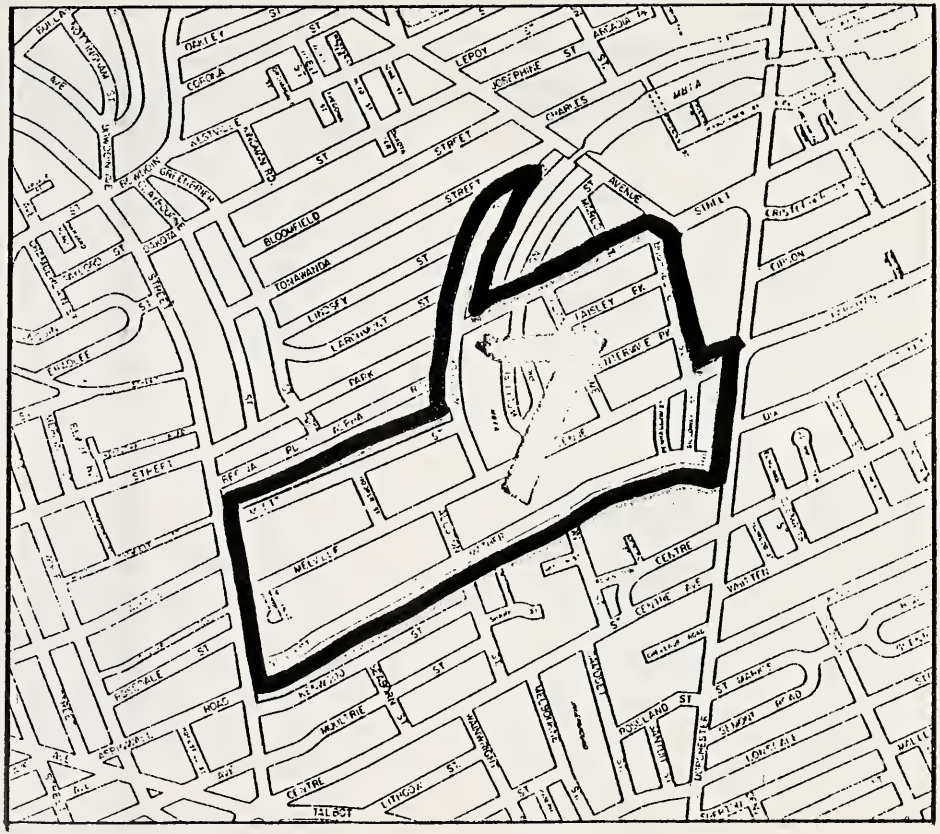
#7 Melville Park - Dorchester



Total Population 1970

Total Population	1876
% Black	1.0%
% Under 18	26.0%
% 62 and over	26.0%
Total Households	565
Ave. number persons per household	3.3
% One person households	17.5%
% female-headed households	19.3%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	117
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	20.7%

Age:

20-44	9.4%
45-64	48.7%
65+	41.9%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	20.5%
Housewife	17.1%
Clerical	15.4%
Craftsman	10.3%

RECENT BUYERS
(1972 - 77)

Total	96
Total excluding 1977	96
% Owner Occupants	85.4%
% Non-owner Occupants	14.6%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	82

Age:

20-44	77.6% (59)
45-64	21.1% (16)
65+	1.3% (1)
Not Stated	6

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Professional	30.3% (23)
Clerical	15.8% (12)
Managerial	11.8% (9)
Craftsman	9.2% (7)

RECENT SELLERS
(1972 - 77)

Total	96
Total excluding 1977	96
% Owner Occupants	69.8
% Non-owner Occupants	30.2%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	67

Age:

20-44	26.2% (17)
45-64	40.0% (26)
65+	33.8% (22)
Not Stated	2

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Clerical	20.0% (13)
Professional	18.5% (12)
Housewife	15.4% (10)
Service	10.8% (7)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 565

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 28.8%

% Owner-occupied units 48.3%

Average # rooms 7.6

Average value $19,800

% Black-owned -

% Renter-occupied 48.0%

Average # rooms 5.0

Average value $94

% Black-rented 2.0%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	$20,500 n=27	$22,500 n=17	$19,000 n=16	$21,500 n=11	$24,700 n=22	-
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	.894 n=27	.898 n=16	.900 n=15	.628 n=2	.899 n=17	-

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 79

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Dorchester Savings Bank	16.5% (13)
Malmart Mortgage Co.	8.9% (7)
Charlestown Savings Bank	8.9% (7)
Provident Institution for Savings	7.6% (6)
Home Savings Bank	7.6% (6)
Massachusetts Coop Bank	7.6% (6)

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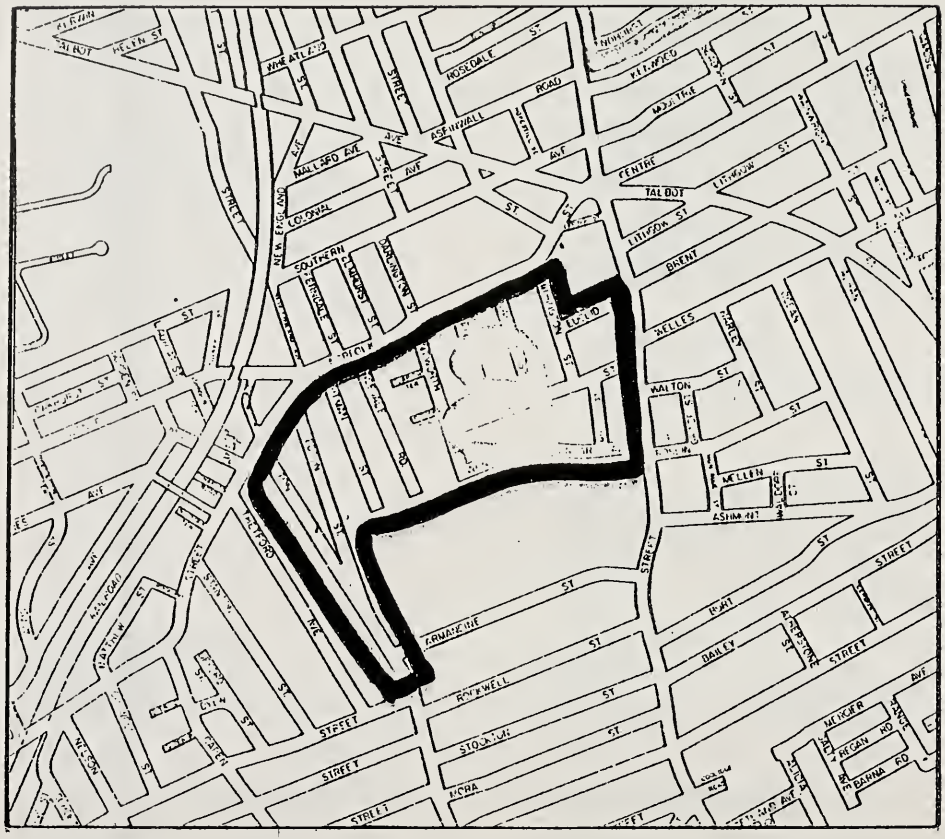
#8 Edson-Torrey - Dorchester



Total Population 1970

Total Population	2815
% Black	13%
% Under 18	40%
% 62 and over	14%
Total Households	874
Ave. number persons per household	3.2
% One person households	14.8%
% female-headed households	16.9%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	61
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	7.0%

Age:

20-44	6.6%
45-64	45.9%
65+	47.5%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Retired	24.6%
Craftsman	24.6%
Housewife	21.3%
Clerical	8.2

RECENT BUYERS
(1975 - 77)

Total	49
Total excluding 1977	40
% Owner Occupants	30.0%
% Non-owner Occupants	70.0%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	12

Age:

20-44	60.0% (6)
45-64	40.0% (4)
65+	-
Not Stated	2

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Transport	27.3% (3)
Clerical	18.2% (2)
Service	18.2% (2)
Laborer	18.2% (2)

RECENT SELLERS
(1975 - 77)

Total	49
Total excluding 1977	40
% Owner Occupants	32.5%
% Non-owner Occupants	67.5%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	13

Age:

20-44	46.2% (6)
45-64	23.1% (3)
65+	30.8% (4)
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Craftsman	38.5% (5)
Laborer	23.1% (3)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 874

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 14.4%

% Owner-occupied units 33.6%

Average # rooms 6.3

Average value $14,400

% Black-owned 18%

% Renter-occupied 59.2%

Average # rooms 4.7

Average value $87

% Black-rented 9%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	-	-	$11,700 n=30	$14,200 n=11	$ 8,000 n=9
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	-	-	.925 n=15	.933 n=6	.899 n=7

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 28

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Malmart Mortgage Co.	25.0% (7)
Dorchester Savings Bank	14.3% (4)
South Boston Savings Bank	7.1% (2)
Seller	26.0% (7)

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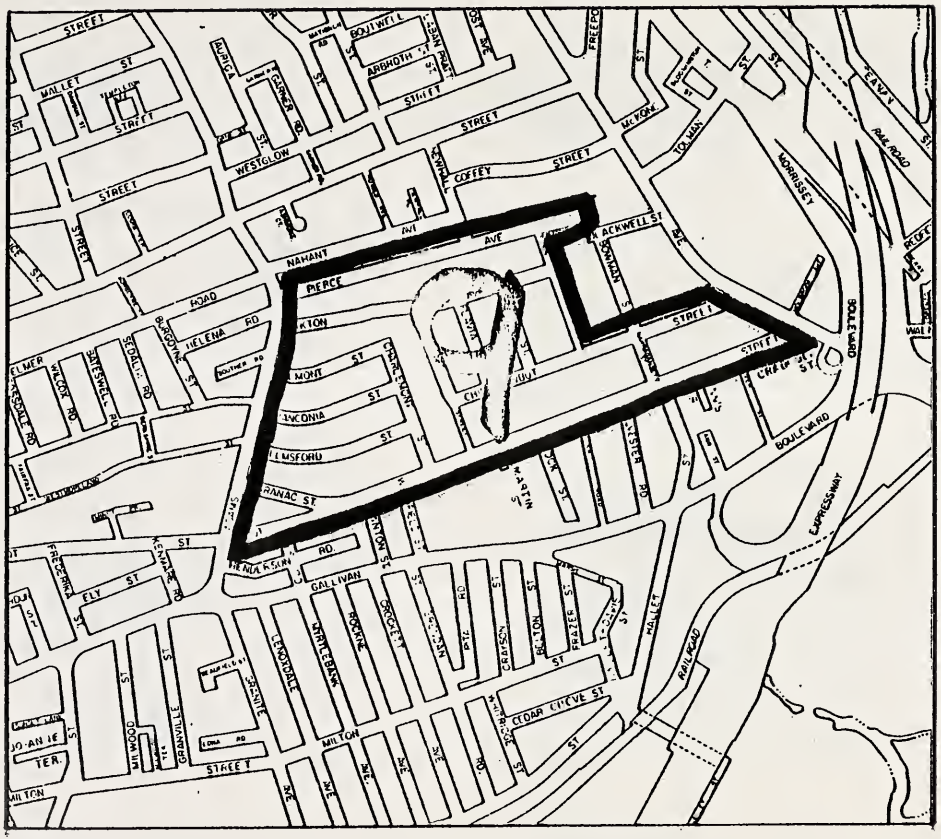
#9 Minot - Dorchester



Total Population 1970

Total Population	1718
% Black	-
% Under 18	28%
% 62 and over	19%
Total Households	578
Ave. number persons per household	3.0
% One person households	15.9%
% female-headed households	13.1%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	337
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	58.3%

Age:

20-44	6.0%
45-64	41.8%
65+	52.2%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Housewife	29.1%
Retired	19.9%
Craftsman	8.9%
Service	8.3%

RECENT BUYERS
(1973 - 77)

Total	53
Total excluding 1977	52
% Owner Occupants	78.8%
% Non-owner Occupants	21.2%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	41

Age:

20-44	62.2% (23)
45-64	37.8% (14)
65+	-
Not Stated	4

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Craftsman	23.1% (9)
Sales	12.8% (5)
Service	12.8% (5)

RECENT SELLERS
(1973 - 77)

Total	53
Total excluding 1977	52
% Owner Occupants	67.3%
% Non-owner Occupants	32.7%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	35

Age:

20-44	41.2% (14)
45-64	26.5% (9)
65+	32.4% (11)
Not Stated	1

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Housewife	17.1% (6)
Retired	17.1% (6)
Professional	14.3% (5)
Service	11.4% (4)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 578

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 19.4%

% Owner-occupied units 50.7%

Average # rooms 6.1

Average value $19,900

% Black-owned -

% Renter-occupied 47.9%

Average # rooms 5.2

Average value $99

% Black- rented -

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	$22,900 n=18	$26,000 n=13	$24,300 n=16	$29,000 n=5	$23,300 n=1
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	.771 n=16	.833 n=9	.800 n=7	.900 n=5	.800 n=1

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 40

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Dorchester Savings Bank	22.5% (9)
Dorchester-Minot Coop Bank	22.5% (9)
South Boston Savings Bank	7.5% (3)
Merchants Coop Bank	7.5% (3)

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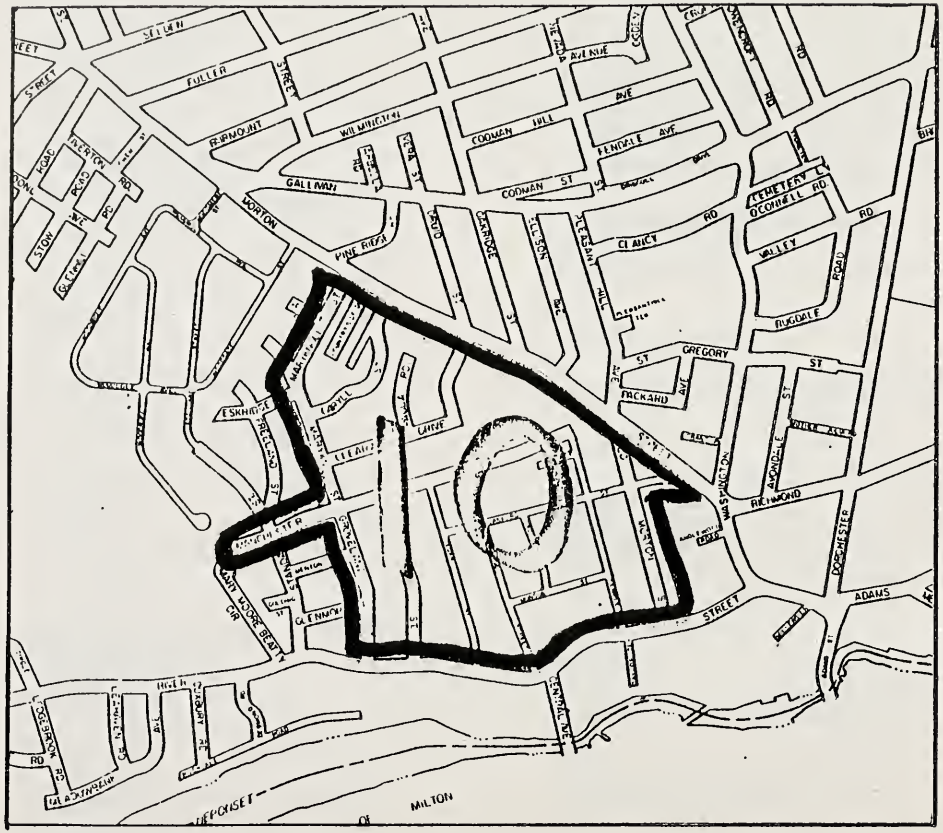
#10 Sanford-Cedar - Dorchester/Mattapan



Total Population 1970

Total Population	1643
% Black	-
% Under 18	31%
% 62 and over	17%
Total Households	521
Ave. number persons per household	3.2
% One person households	18.2%
% female-headed households	13.1%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	151
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	29.0%

Age:

20-44	12.6%
45-64	41.7%
65+	45.7%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Housewife	28.4%
Retired	15.9%
Clerical	10.6%
Service	8.6%
Managerial	8.6%

RECENT BUYERS
(1973 - 77)

Total	59
Total excluding 1977	56
% Owner Occupants	76.8%
% Non-owner Occupants	23.2%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	43

Age:

20-44	65.0% (26)
45-64	27.5% (11)
65+	7.5% (3)
Not Stated	3

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Professional	21.4% (9)
Retired	14.3% (6)
Clerical	11.9% (5)
Craftsman	11.9% (5)
Transport	11.9% (5)

RECENT SELLERS
(1973 - 77)

Total	59
Total excluding 1977	56
% Owner Occupants	71.4%
% Non-owner Occupants	28.6%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	40

Age:

20-44	51.2% (20)
45-64	17.9% (7)
65+	30.8% (12)
Not Stated	1

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Managerial	20.0% (8)
Housewife	12.5% (5)
Professional	12.5% (5)
Craftsman	10.0% (4)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 521

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 49.3%

% Owner-occupied units 61.2

Average # rooms 6.2

Average value $20,100

% Black-owned -

% Renter-occupied 36.5%

Average # rooms 4.4

Average value $102

% Black-rented -

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	$19,900 n=11	$21,400 n=10	$19,000 n=20	$25,500 n=13	$20,000 n=3
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	.834 n=10	.900 n=8	.800 n=9	.897 n=9	.800 n=3

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 42

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Dorchester Savings Bank	19.0% (8)
Provident Institution for Savings	11.9% (5)
Charlestown Savings Bank	9.5% (4)
South Boston Savings Bank	9.5% (4)
Seller	11.9% (5)

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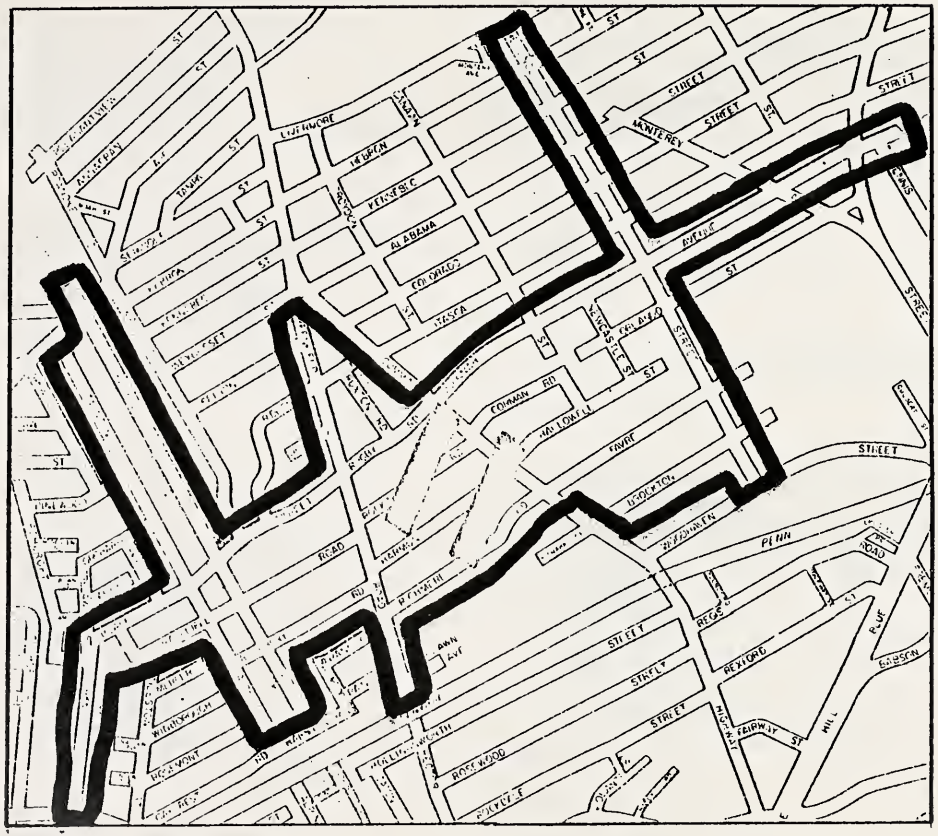
#11 Savannah-Taunton - Hyde Park/Mattapan



Total Population 1970

Total Population	3793
% Black	2%
% Under 18	23%
% 62 and over	24%
Total Households	1393
Ave. number persons per household	2.7
% One person households	15.4%
% female-headed households	9.8%

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LONG TERM RESIDENTS
(10 years or more as of 1/1/77)

Total (Household Heads and Unrelated Individuals)	190
Stability Index (Long-term residents as % of Total Households)	13.7%

Age:

20-44	7.3%
45-64	50.5%
65+	42.1%
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Housewife	20.0%
Retired	20.0%
Craftsman	12.6%
Clerical	8.9%

RECENT BUYERS

(1976-77)

Total	59
Total excluding 1977	45
% Owner Occupants	68.9%
% Non-owner Occupants	31.1%
Owner-Occupant Buyers (Household heads excluding 1977)	31

Age:

20-44	90.9% (20)
45-64	9.1% (2)
65+	-
Not Stated	9

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Professional	22.8% (5)
Craftsman	18.2% (4)
Mangaerial	13.6% (3)
Housewife	13.6% (3)

RECENT SELLERS

(1976-77)

Total	59
Total excluding 1977	45
% Owner Occupants	80.0%
% Non-owner Occupants	20.0%
Owner-Occupant Sellers (Household Heads excluding 1977)	36

Age:

20-44	50.0% (18)
45-64	25.0% (9)
65+	25.0% (9)
Not Stated	-

Dominant Occupational Categories:

Professional	20.6% (7)
Craftsman	17.6% (6)
Retired	14.6% (5)

PROPERTY

Number of Occupied Units 1970

Total 1393

% Units in one-unit structures (Single family homes) 36.0%

% Owner-occupied units 48.2%

Average # rooms 5.8

Average value $21,200

% Black-owned 2%

% Renter-occupied 50.3%

Average # rooms 3.9

Average value $159

% Black-rented 1%

Recent Transactions

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977
Median Sales Price	-	-	-	-	-	$25,900 n=45	$24,500 n=14
Median Loan-to-Value Ratio	-	-	-	-	-	.961 n=34	.962 n=14

Lending Institutions Granting Mortgages in Area

Total # Mortgages 50

Lending Institutions with most loans:

Boston Five Cents Savings Bank	30.0% (15)
Provident Institution for Savings	28.0% (14)
Home Savings Bank	10.0% (5)
Malmart Mortgage Co.	8.0% (4)
Dorchester Savings Bank	8.0% (4)

APPENDIX VI: PHASE I SURVEYS

Questionnaire for Recent Buyers

Study Neighborhood _____ Interviewee _____

Interviewer _____ Telephone number _____

Interview Lgth (mins.)_____ Address _____

Time of Day (hr.) _____ Response Comments:

Day _____

- ☐ call back
- ☐ willing to talk further
- ☐ refused to talk

Hello, I'm trying to reach _____. My name is _____. I'm working with the Department of Urban Planning at MIT on a project that has to do with people's views about their neighborhoods. We believe that the views of people who've recently bought houses in a neighborhood are especially important. Did you buy your house within the last five years?*

When? _____

---

*IF interviewee requires additional information:

- —We guarantee absolute confidentiality. All information is to be used for statistical purposes only.
- —We selected their name at random from the list of city residents.
- —We are working to improve the image of Boston's neighborhoods.
- —The questions will take only a short time to answer.
- —The interviewee will probably find the questions interesting.
- —We will send them a letter to confirm what we are doing and then call back to conduct the interview.
- —We are funded by a national research grant - Department of Housing and Urban Development.

---

1. Could you tell me where you lived before you moved to your present address?

   - ☐ This neighborhood _____
   - ☐ Elsewhere in Boston _____
   - ☐ Outside Boston _____

2. Did you own or rent at your previous residence?

   ☐ Own ☐ Rent

3. Is your present house a:

   ☐ one-family

   ☐ two-family

   ☐ three-family

   ☐ other _____

4. How did you happen to consider moving to this area? _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

5. Where else did you consider looking for a place to live? (Probe: City vs. Suburbs). _____

   _____

6. Were there certain things you wanted to know about the neighborhood before moving in? _____

   _____

   _____

7. We're interested in your sources of information. How did you find out the things you wanted to know? _____

   ☐ Realtor _____

   ☐ Friends/Contacts already there _____

   ☐ City Agency _____

   ☐ Other _____

8. What finally made you decide to move into the area? (Check more than one if necessary).

   ☐ Physical Appearance _____

   ☐ Character/Style of house _____

   ☐ Price of Housing _____

   ☐ Other feature(s) of housing _____

☐ Existing ties to the neighborhood _____

☐ Type of resident already there _____

☐ Neighborhood's location _____

☐ Other _____

_____

9. We're also interested in how people select the bank from which they get their mortgage. We are not asking which bank you got your mortgage at, just why you went to that particular one. Was it:

☐ Because of a real estate broker's recommendation

☐ Because of another person's recommendation

☐ Because you already had an account there

☐ Other _____

_____

_____

10. Why did you buy a house on this particular street? _____

_____

11. In deciding whether to move into the neighborhood, were there any negative aspects you had to consider? _____

_____

12. You've been in the neighborhood _____ months/years now, what things do you like most about it? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

13. What things about the neighborhood do you like least? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

We believe that people's attitudes toward their neighborhood are often shaped by the media —— you know, both newspaper and TV stories. So we're interested in which TV news you watch, which newspapers you read, etc.

14. Do you watch local TV news programs regularly? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(if yes) Which channel(s)?

☐ Channel 4 ☐ Channel 7 ☐ Channel 38

☐ Channel 5 ☐ Channel 2 ☐ Channel 56

15. What was the last TV news story or show you recall seeing about Dorchester/Roxbury/Jamaica Plain? _____

_____

16. What did you think of the coverage? (Probe: was it interesting? do you know if it was accurate?) _____

_____

17. Do you recall seeing a TV show called "Dorchester: A View from Melville Park"?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(if yes) What did you think of it? _____

_____

Did you see it advertised?

☐ Yes Where? _____

☐ No

18. Which radio station(s) do you listen to most frequently?

AM	FM
☐ EEI 590	☐ WBZ 106.7
☐ RKO 680	☐ VBF 105.7
☐ HDH 850	☐ BCN 104.1
☐ WBZ 1030	☐ EEI 103.3
☐ ILD 1090	☐ JIB 96.9
☐ EZE 1260	☐ GBH 89.7
☐ MEX 1510	
☐ Other _____	☐ None

19. Do you read a daily newspaper regularly? If so, which one(s)?

☐ Globe ☐ Christian Science Monitor

☐ Herald American ☐ Other _____

☐ New York Times ☐ None

☐ Patriot Ledger

20. Do you read a weekly neighborhood newspaper regularly? If so which one(s)? _____

_____

21. What was the most recent newspaper article you remember reading about Dorchester/Roxbury/Jamaica Plain? _____

_____

22. What did you think of the article (interesting, accurate, etc.?)

_____

_____

_____

23. Do you recall seeing in the last few years a poster on Dorchester (Jamaica Plain)? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(if yes) What did you think of it? _____

_____

_____

24. Do you have a copy of the poster yourself? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(if yes) Where did you get hold of it? _____

_____

25. Since moving in, what have you seen happening in your neighborhood? What's different and what's the same? (Use "Change" only if absolutely necessary).

☐ Nothing

☐ Population changes—positive _____

☐ —neutral _____

☐ —negative _____

☐ Physical changes--positive _____

☐ --neutral _____

☐ --negative _____

☐ Other _____

_____

26. Why do you think this/these things have been happening? _____

_____

_____

27. Since moving in, would you say property values have:

☐ Risen _____

☐ Stayed the same _____

☐ Fallen _____

28. Would you say that people in your neighborhood are:

☐ Maintaining their properties

☐ Improving their properties

☐ Letting their properties go

☐ Don't know

Why do you think people are maintaining/improving/or letting their properties go? _____

_____

_____

29. Have you made any kinds of repairs or improvements to your home since moving in?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(if yes) What kinds of repairs or improvements have you made?

☐ Regular maintenance _____

☐ Repair of existing defects _____

_____

☐ Major changes/additions/renovation etc. __

_____

(if yes) What led you to make these investments in your house? _____

_____

(if yes) Did you do the work yourself or did you pay someone else?

☐ Self ☐ Paid someone else ☐ Other _____

(if yes) Did you seek a loan? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(if yes) Where did you apply for your loan?

_____

Did you get it? ☐ Yes ☐ No

30. Do you anticipate making any repairs or improvements in the near future?

☐ Yes What? _____

_____

☐ No

☐ Not sure

31. What do you think your neighborhood will be like three years from now? _____

_____

_____

32. What would you like it to be like?

☐ People _____

_____

☐ Physical Appearance _____

_____

☐ Others _____

_____

33. If you were in a position to suggest to the city one thing to improve your neighbrohood, what would you recommend?

☐ Physical Improvements _____

☐ Schools _____

☐ Lower taxes _____

☐ Security _____

☐ Other _____

_____

34. Do you anticipate that you might move from your present address?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure

(if yes) Why would you move? _____

_____

Where would you move? _____

_____

(if no) If you were to move, where do you think you would go? _____

_____

35. If you were to do it all over again, do you think you would move into this neighbrohood? _____

_____

Now for your statistical purposes only, we'd like to ask you a few final questions. If you find any of them too personal, please feel free not to respond. I can assure you that all your responses will be kept entirely confidential.

36. Besides yourself, how many other adults are in your household?

☐ Spouse ☐ Others _____

37. What kind of work do you do? _____

38. (if married) What kind of work does your spouse do? _____

39. Where do you work? And your spouse? (Specify where appropriate).

Respondent	Spouse
☐ Neighborhood	☐ Neighborhood
☐ Downtown Boston	☐ Downtown Boston
☐ Elsewhere in Boston	☐ Elsewhere in Boston
_____	_____
☐ Outside Boston	☐ Outside Boston
_____	_____
☐ Not applicable	☐ Not applicable

40. How many children live with you? _____

41. Of these children, how many attend:

__ Public School __ Parochial School __ Private School

42. Do you participate in any community, church or other local organization? If so, which one(s)? _____

_____

43. What was the last grade of school you completed? And your spouse?

	Respondent	Spouse
Less than high school (# years)	____	____
High School (# years)	____	____
College (# years)	____	____
Graduate (# years)	____	____

44. Finally, what is your family's ethnic background? For example, people tell us they're Polish-American, Italian-American, etc.

_____

(N.B.) The following question should only be asked if interviewee spoke willingly and you feel the person could make a further contribution at a "face to face" session).

45. Would you be interested in talking further about this at a later date?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP!

Questionnaire for Long-Term Residents

Study Neighborhood _____ Interviewee _____

Interviewer _____ Telephone _____

Interview Lgth (mins.) _____ Address _____

Time of Day (hr.) _____ Response Comments:

Date _____

☐ call back

☐ willing to talk further

☐ refused to talk

Hello, I'm trying to reach _____. My name is _____. I'm working with the Department of Urban Planning at MIT on a project that has to do with people's views about their neighborhoods. We believe that the views of people who've lived in a neighborhood for some time are particularly important.*

Could you tell me how long you've lived in the neighborhood? _____

The information we have so far is that you live at _____. Is that correct?

---

*IF interviewee requires additional information:

- We guarantee absolute confidentiality. All information for statistical purposes only.
- We selected their name at random from the list of city residents.
- We are working to improve the image of Boston's neighborhoods.
- The questions to be asked will take only a short time to answer.
- Interviewee will probably find the questions interesting.
- We will send them a letter to confirm what we are doing and then call back to conduct the interview.
- We are funded by a national research grant--Department of Housing and Urban Development.

We'd like to ask you some questions about your house.

1. Is it a one-family, two-family, etc.?

   ☐ one-family

   ☐ two-family

   ☐ three-family

   ☐ other _____

2. How long have you lived in your present house? _____

3. Do you own or rent your house? ☐ Own ☐ Rent

4. Have you (or your landlord) made any kinds of repairs or improvements to your home in the last three years?

   ☐ Yes ☐ No

   (if Yes) What kinds of repairs or improvements have you (or your landlord) made?

   ☐ regular maintenance _____

   _____

   ☐ repair of existing defects _____

   _____

   ☐ major changes/additions/renovation/etc.

   _____

   _____

   (if Yes) What led you (or your landlord) to invest further in your home?

   _____

   _____

   (if Yes) Did you (or your landlord) do the work yourself or did you pay someone else?

   ☐ self ☐ paid someone else ☐ other _____

(if Yes) Did you seek a loan? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(if Yes) Where did you apply for your loan?

_____

Did you get it? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5. Do you anticipate making any repairs or improvements in the near future?

☐ Yes What? _____

☐ No

☐ Not sure

6. Would you say that other people in your neighborhood are:

☐ maintaining their properties

☐ improving their properties

☐ letting their properties go

☐ don't know

Why are people maintaining/improving/or letting their properties go?

_____

_____

7. What things do you like most about your neighborhood?

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. What things do you like least about it?

_____

_____

_____

_____

We believe that people's attitudes toward their neighborhood are often shaped by the media--you know, both newspaper and TV stories. So we're interested in which TV news show you watch, which newspapers you read, etc.

9. Do you watch TV news programs regularly? ☐ Yes ☐ No

(if Yes) Which channel(s)?

☐ Channel 4 ☐ Channel 7 ☐ Channel 38

☐ Channel 5 ☐ Channel 2 ☐ Channel 56

10. What was the last TV news story or show you recall seeing about Dorchester/Roxbury/Jamaica Plain?

_____

_____

11. What did you think of the coverage? (Probe: Was it interesting? and do you know if it was accurate?)

_____

_____

12. Do you recall seeing a TV show called "Dorchester: A View from Melville-Park"?

☐ Yes ☐ No

(if Yes) What did you think of it? _____

_____

Did you see it advertised:

☐ Yes Where? _____

☐ No

13. Which radio station(s) do you listen to most frequently?

AM	FM	
☐ EEI 590	☐ WBZ 106.7	☐ None
☐ RKO 680	☐ VBF 105.7	
☐ HDH 850	☐ BCN 104.1	
☐ WBZ 1030	☐ EEI 103.3	
☐ ILD 1090	☐ JIB 96.9	
☐ EZE 1260	☐ GBH 89.7	
☐ MEX 1510	☐ Other _____	

14. Do you read a daily newspaper regularly? If so, which one?

- ☐ Globe
- ☐ Herald American
- ☐ New York Times
- ☐ Patriot Ledger
- ☐ Christian Science Monitor
- ☐ Other _____
- ☐ None

15. Do you read a weekly neighborhood newspaper regularly? If so, which one?

_____

16. What was the most recent newspaper article you remember reading about Dorchester/Roxbury/Jamaica Plain?

_____

_____

17. What did you think of the article? (interesting, accurate, etc.)

_____

_____

18. Do you recall seeing in the last few years a poster on Dorchester (Jamaica Plain)?

- ☐ Yes What did you think of it? _____

  _____
- ☐ No

19. Do you have a copy of the poster yourself?

- ☐ Yes Where did you get hold of it? _____

  _____
- ☐ No

20. Looking back for a moment, what in particular have you seen happen in your neighborhood in recent years? What's the same and what's different? (Use "change" only if necessary)

- ☐ nothing
- ☐ population changes—positive _____
- ☐ —neutral _____
- ☐ —negative _____
- ☐ physical changes —positive _____
- ☐ —neutral _____
- ☐ —negative _____
- ☐ other _____

21. When would you say this/these things began to happen?

_____

22. Why do you think this/these things began to happen?

_____

23. Would you say that, in recent years, property values have:

- ☐ risen _____
- ☐ stayed the same _____
- ☐ fallen _____

24. What do you think your neighborhood will be like three years from now?

_____

_____

25. What would you like it to be like?

- ☐ people _____

_____

- ☐ physical appearance _____

_____

- ☐ other _____

_____

26. If you were in a position to suggest to the City one thing to improve your neighborhood, what would you recommend?

- ☐ Physical improvements
- ☐ Schools
- ☐ Lower taxes
- ☐ Security
- ☐ Other _____

_____

27. If your children or other young people were looking for a place to live, would you recommend that they live in your neighborhood?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

28. Do you anticipate that you might move from your present address?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure

(if Yes) Why would you move? _____

_____

(if Yes) Where would you move? _____

_____

(if No) If you were to move, where do you think you would go?

_____

Now, for our statistical purposes only, we'd like to ask you a few final questions. If you find any of them too personal, please feel free not to respond. I can assure you that all your responses will be kept entirely confidential.

29. Besides yourself, how many other adults are in your household?

☐ Spouse Others _____

30. What kind of work do you do? (if retired, what did you used to do?)

_____

31. (if married) What kind of work does your spouse do? (if retired, what did your spouse used to do?)

_____

32. (if employed) Where do you work? And your spouse? (specify where appropriate)

Respondent	Spouse
☐ Neighborhood	☐ Neighborhood
☐ Downtown Boston	☐ Downtown Boston
☐ Elsewhere in Boston	☐ Elsewhere in Boston
_____	_____
☐ Outside Boston	☐ Outside Boston
_____	_____
☐ Not applicable	☐ Not applicable

33. How many children live with you? _____

34. Of those who are of school age, how many attend:

__ Public school

__ Parochial school

__ Private school

35. What was the last grade of school you completed? Spouse?

		Respondent	Spouse
Less than high school	(# yrs.)	____	____
High School	(# yrs.)	____	____
College	(# yrs.)	____	____
Graduate School	(# yrs.)	____	____

36. Do you participate in any community, church, or other local organization? If so, which one(s)?

_____

37. Finally, what is your family's ethnic background? For example, some people tell us they're Polish-American, Italian-American, etc.

_____

(N.B.: The following question should only be asked if the interviewee spoke willingly and you feel the person could make a further contribution at a "face-to-face" session.)

38. Would you be interested in talking more about this at a later date?

☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Not sure

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP.

APPENDIX VII: PHASE II INTERVIEW AGENDAS

Interviewer _____ Respondent _____

Date _____ Address _____

Length of Interview _____ _____

Phone _____

Now, for our statistical purposes only, we'd like to ask you a few final questions. If you find any of them too personal, please feel free not to respond. I can assure you that all your responses will be kept entirely confidential.

1. Besides yourself, how many other adults are in your household?

   ☐ Spouse Others _____

2. What kind of work do you do? (If retired, what did you use to do?

   _____

3. (If Married) What kind of work does your spouse do? (If retired, what did you spouse used to do?)

   _____

4. (If employed) Where do you work? And your spouse? (Specify where appropriate.)

Respondent	Spouse
☐ Neighborhood	☐ Neighborhood
☐ Downtown Boston	☐ Downtown Boston
☐ Elsewhere in Boston	☐ Elsewhere in Boston
_____	_____
☐ Outside Boston	☐ Outside Boston
_____	_____
☐ Not applicable	☐ Not applicable

5. How many children live with you? _____

6. Of those who are of school age, how many attend:

___ Public school

___ Parochial school

___ Private school

7. What was the last grade of school you completed? Spouse?

		Respondent	Spouse
Less than high school	(# yrs.)	___	___
High school	(# yrs.)	___	___
College	(# yrs.)	___	___
Graduate school	(# yrs.)	___	___

8. Do you participate in any community, church, or other local organization? If so, which one(s)?

_____

_____

9. Finally, what is your family's ethnic background? For example, some people tell us they're Polish-American, Italian-American, etc.

_____

Thank you very much for your help.

LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

Residential History and General Attitudes

1. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? How long have you lived in the City of Boston?

2. Do you own or rent your current home?

3. In general, how do you feel living in a city compares with living in the suburbs? How is it better, and how is it worse?

4. Do you feel that you're currently living in a "neighborhood?" What does the word "neighborhood" mean to you--what ideas does the word call up in you?

5. I'm interested in finding out about the different places you lived while you were growing up, before you turned eighteen. Let's start with the place you were born. (Note: Specific questions about each place should include place name, part of the country it's in, type of community--urban, rural, suburban--some idea of size, how long they lived there, approximate age at the time, do they remember it as a good/bad place to live, what do they remember about it briefly.)

6. Do you think your experiences as you were growing up in these places have had any effect on your decision to move to and stay in this neighborhood/area? In what way?

7. Between the time you turned eighteen and the time you moved to this neighborhood/area, where have you lived? (Note: Specific questions should include place name--not address but neighborhood name or town name--part of the country it's in, type of community, some idea of size, how long they lived there, when was this, why did they move, did they own or rent.)

Perception of Neighborhood and Forces Influencing

8. How would you describe your neighborhood/area to someone who knows nothing at all about it--being very honest and candid about both its good and bad features. (Note: Probe for descriptions of both its physical condition and its social makeup.)

9. Do your friends and relatives from outside the neighborhood/area seem to have the same impressions of it that you have? If not, how do you think they see the neighborhood/area?

10. How do you think realtors perceive your neighborhood/area? What makes you say that, are there any concrete examples of realtors statements you can recall? Do you share the realtors' perceptions?

LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

11. Do you believe the newspapers and television news reporters accurately portray your neighborhood/area? If not, how is it different from your perception? What kind of image of your neighborhood/area do they present?

12. Aside from this neighborhood/area, if friends, realtors, and the news media all seemed to hold differing views of what the neighborhood/area was like, which would you tend to rely on as the most credible source?

Changes in Neighborhood and Its Occupants

13. What, if any, changes do you see taking place in the neighborhood/area now: in its physical condition, its social composition, in other ways?

14. Do you think the rate of turnover of houses in the neighborhood/area has changed over the past couple of years? In what way?

15. I'm interested in finding out about the people who have moved out of the neighborhood/area over the past few years. From what you know about them, how would you describe the people who are moving out in terms of their age, their occupation, their ethnicity or race?

16. What do you think are the reasons that these people have left the area? Where do you think they are moving to?

17. Did you know many of the people who have moved away over the past two or three years? Did you socialize much with them? If yes--tell me more about your contacts with them. (Note: Probe for frequency of contacts, setting, closeness of friendship, functions of the relationships.) Do you still maintain contact with any of these former neighbors?

18. How would you describe the people who are moving into the neighborhood, buying the homes of the people we've been talking about? What are they like in terms of age, occupation, ethnicity or race? Where are they moving from?

19. How do these recent buyers get along with the people who have lived here a long time. Are there any problems between the groups? Have you had any problems with the new people? Do you like the people who are moving in? In what ways are they like you, different from you?

20. Have you gotton to know many of these newcomers to the neighborhood/area? What kind of contact do you have with them? (Note: Probe whether these are formal or informal contacts, social or organizational, how frequent, etc.) Did you know any of them before they moved in here?

21. What effects have they had on the neighborhood? (Note: Probe for both physical structural changes and on social relationships.)

LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

Future of the Neighborhood

22. Five years from now, how do you think this neighborhood/area will be different from the way it is today? In what ways do you think things will be the same as they are now? (Note: Probe for some kind of picture of neighborhoods physical condition and info on who they think will be living in the neighborhood.) Overall, do you think the neighborhood will be better or worse than it is today?

23. In this neighborhood/area, do you think property values are rising, falling, staying the same? If they are changing, how rapidly are they changing and why?

FOR PROPERTY OWNERS

24. Have you done (or do you plan to do) any substantial repairs or improvement work on your home in the past three years? (Note: Probe whether work needed to be done earlier and was postponed until recently.) What kind of work was it? When did you do this work? What led you to make the investment at that time?

25. Are others in your neighborhood/area maintaining their properties or doing repair work on their homes?

26. Do you think you will still be in this neighborhood/area five years from now? If no, when do you think you would be moving out and why? Where would you likely move to? Why there? If yes, how long do you expect you will stay in this neighborhood/area?

27. In the past, have you ever considered moving out of the neighborhood/area? Why did you consider moving and why did you stay?

28. If you wanted to move now, do you expect you would get enough money to purchase a comparable replacement home in an area where you would like to live? Would you expect to get a better or worse price for your house three years from now?

29. Compared with your feelings in earlier years, do you feel more optimistic or pessimistic about the future of your neighborhood/area now? Why is that?

FOR RENTERS

30. Do you expect your rent will stay essentially the same or will it increase over the next three years? If it will increase, how much do you think it will increase? How does that compare with the rate of increase over the past three years?

31. Why do you think rents will go up or stay the same?

LONG-TERM RESIDENTS

32. Would you like to continue to rent in this neighborhood/area? Will anything change your ability to rent here?

33. Over the last couple of years, do you think the number of rental units available in this neighborhood/area has increased or decreased? Why is that?

34. Do you think you will still be in this neighborhood/area five years from now? If no, where do you think you would be moving out and why? Where would you likely move to? Why there? If yes, how long do you expect you will stay in this neighborhood/area?

35. In the past, have you ever considered moving out of the neighborhood/area? Why did you consider moving and why did you stay?

36. Compared with your feelings in earlier years, do you feel more optimistic or pessimistic about the future of your neighborhood/area? Why is that?

1977 RECENT BUYERS

Residential History

1. How long have you lived in this neighborhood? How long have you lived in the Boston area?

2. Before moving to this address, where did you live? How long did you live there? Did you own or rent at that address? What was that area like as a place to live? (Note: Probe for physical condition, density, type of housing, social composition.)

3. Where had you lived immediately before that? How long did you live there? Did you own or rent? What was the area like as a place to live? (Note: Probe for the same things as above.) Why did you move from there?

4. At the time you moved here, what other areas had you considered living in? What did you find appealing about them? What didn't you like about those areas?

5. In general, how do you feel living in the city compares with living in the suburbs? In what ways is it better, in what ways is it worse?

6. Do you feel that you're living in a "neighborhood" right now? What does the word "neighborhood" mean to you--what ideas does it call up in you?

7. I'm interested in finding out about the different places you lived while you were growing up, before you turned eighteen. Let's start with the place you were born. (Note: Specific questions about each place should include place name, part of the country it's in, type of community--urban, rural, suburban, some idea of size, how long they lived there, approximate age at the time, do they remember it as a good/bad place to live, what do they remember about it briefly.)

8. Do you think your experiences as you were growing up in these places have had any effect on your decision to move to and stay in this neighborhood/area? In what way?

9. Between the time you turned eighteen and the time you moved to this neighborhood/area, where have you lived? (Note: Specific questions should include place name--not address, but neighborhood name or town name--part of the country it's in, type of community, some idea of size, how long they lived there, when was this, why did they move, did they own or rent.)

1977 RECENT BUYERS

Perception of Neighborhood and Forces Influencing

10. How would you describe your neighborhood/area to someone who knows nothing at all about it--being very honest and candid about both its good and bad features. (Note: Probe for descriptions of both its physical condition and its social makeup.)

11. When you speak with family or friends from outside the neighborhood/area, do they have the same impressions of this neighborhood/area that you have? What are their perceptions?

12. Did you speak with realtors in the area before buying here? What did they tell you about what this neighborhood/area was like? Were their views consistent among the realtors themselves?

13. Can you recall any particular news stories reported in the media about your neighborhood? What general picture do you get from radio, TV, or the newspapers? Do you think this is an accurate view?

14. If friends, realtors, and the news media all seemed to hold differing views of what the neighborhood was like, which would you tend to rely on as the most credible source?

15. Have you always thought about this neighborhood as a place in which you might like to buy a home? What prompted your initial interest in the neighborhood?

16. What finally made you decide to move into the neighborhood? In what ways have you been satisfied/dissatisfied with that decision?

17. What do you like best about the neighborhood? Like least about it?

18. What is the most important thing you feel the city could do to make this area a better place to live?

19. I'm interested in finding out about the people who have been moving into the neighborhood/area over the past few years. From what you know about them, how would you describe these people who are coming into this area in terms of their age, occupation, ethnicity, and race?

20. Why do you think they're moving in here? Where are they moving from? What effect do you think they are having and will have on this neighborhood/area?

21. Do you have much contact with other recent buyers like yourself? What kind of contact do you have with them? (Note: Probe for frequency of contacts, setting, closeness of friendship.)

22. How would you describe the people who are leaving and selling their homes to those moving in (in terms of age, occupation, race, or ethnicity)? How long had they lived here prior to moving? Why are they leaving?

1977 RECENT BUYERS

23. How would you describe the people who have lived in this neighborhood/area a long time (in terms of age, occupation, race, or ethnicity)? In what ways are they like you and different from you?

24. Do you have much contact with them? What kind of contact do you have with them? (Note: Probe whether these contacts are formal or informal, social or organizational, how frequent, one-to-one or in groups, etc.)

25. How do these long-term residents get along with the new residents in the neighborhood/area? Are there any problems between the groups? Have you personally had any problems with the long-term residents? Do you like these people who have been here for some time?

26. Did you know any of the long-term residents or any of the recent buyers here before you moved in? Did this influence your decision at all? In what way?

Future of the Neighborhood

27. Five years from now, how do you think this neighborhood/area will be different from the way it is today? In what ways do you think things will be the same as they are now? (Note: Probe for some kind of picture of neighborhoods physical condition and info on who they think will be living in the neighborhood.) Overall, do you think the neighborhood will be better or worse than it is today?

28. In this neighborhood/area, do you think property values are rising, falling, staying the same? If they are changing, how rapidly are they changing and why?

29. Have you done (or do you plan to do) any substantial repairs or improvement work on your home in the past three years? (Note: Probe whether work needed to be done earlier and was postponed until recently.) What kind of work was it? When did you do this work? What led you to make the investment at that time?

30. Are others in your neighborhood/area maintaining their properties or doing repair work on their homes?

31. Do you think you will still be in this neighborhood/area five years from now? If no, when do you think you would be moving out and why? Where would you likely move to? Why there? If yes, how long do you expect you will stay in this neighborhood/area?

32. If you were to do it all over again, would you buy a house here? Have you tried to convince friends or co-workers to move into this neighborhood/area? What has their response been?

J61
H74
Hollister, Robert M.
Measuring Neighbor-
hood Confidence

J61
H74 Hollister, Robert M.